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AND LITERATURE, NO. 18

FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND INTERPRETERS IN THE CHANSONS DE GESTE

MILTON HAMMOND STANSBURY

A THESIS

IN ROMANIC LANGUAGES

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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FOREWORD

The writer's grateful appreciation is expressed to Professor J. P. Wickersham Crawford, to whom the initial conception of this subject is due, and to Professor Jean B. Beck, for their friendly encouragement, painstaking supervision, and illuminating suggestions very generously offered throughout the composition of this essay. Thanks and respectful homage are likewise extended to Professor Hugo A. Rennert for his helpful criticism, and to Professor Joseph Bédier for his careful reading of an early draft of this work, submitted in Paris in 1925.

AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED TO
MY MOTHER

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I

Introduction

This study is restricted, for the most part, to material drawn from the *chansons de geste.* For multiplication of evidence, it would have been interesting and profitable to examine a more inclusive field of Old French literature, the chronicles and the *romans d'aventure,* in particular. But in spite of this arbitrary limitation, the scope of the study has been enlarged somewhat through citation from certain closely related works, which, though not strictly regarded as *chansons de geste,* differ from them but slightly in tone and subject-matter. The poems usually classified as rimed-chronicles, for example, present many traits in common with true *chansons de geste.* If a distinction is to be made, it will consist, aside from the formal differences of metrical structure, in the more objective handling of material. This is true notably in the case of Wace's *Roman de Rou.* Certain poems usually accepted as *chansons de geste,* on the other hand, are in reality little more than *romans d'aventure,* of which *Huon de Bordeaux* or *Bueve de Hantone* are typical examples.

It would have been interesting to present the material in some sort of chronological order; also to trace and classify the citations according to their agreement with fact. But the former method would have been impossible because of the uncertainty and lack of information in regard to the original date of composition of the poems, existing, as they almost invariably do, as rehandlings of earlier works. The attempt to trace the historical accuracy of their statements would be, moreover, a futile undertaking, for the poems were designed for entertainment and the glorification of ideals rather than as vehicles of historical information. The poets' difficulties were also tremendously increased by the necessity of describing events long-past and a world removed by several centuries from their own. We must also take into account an attitude of mind naïvely expressed by one early poet, who with more than usual candor calls attention to the inaccuracy of statement occasioned by the exigencies of rime:

> Nus hom ne puet chançon de jeste dire
> Que il ne mente la ou li vers define
> As mos drecier et a tailler la rime.
> (*Mort Aymeri*, v. 3055.)

This does not mean, however, that the *chansons de geste* are to be wholly discredited in regard to historical accuracy. They are often, as a matter of fact, our most authentic sources of information for certain phases of the early periods. The chronicles, both in Latin and in French, with their lack of precision and the introduction of the miraculous, are not always to be trusted. As Paulin Paris attests,[1] the authorized annalist, more frequently than the poet, wanders from the truth; his conviction being that "on croirait retrouver l'histoire réelle dans le poème, et la fable confuse dans la chronique."

The poets take particular care in beginning their *chansons* to assure the audience of their sincerity and to disclaim having invented anything. Such statements as: "li livre d'estoire tesmoing et garant" (*Ch. des Saisnes*, v. 3) or "A saint Dynis de France premierement trovee, Del rolle de l'eglise escrite et translatee" (*Destr. de Rome* v. 13) become commonplaces in their poems.[2] Whatever may be the value of such assertions, they reveal at least the poets' consciousness of the advisability of creating an historical background of some sort. In reflecting the imprint of their age, these epics are more faithful perhaps than any other form of its literature, and make possible in large measure the reconstruction of the civilization of their epoch. Our confidence is engaged, in fact, as much as would be possible in any such early accounts. Paulin Paris believes this to have been an age when the authors had not yet the right to "appeler la fiction au secours de la vérité."[3] If their works are found to

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[1] *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. XX, p. 605.

[2] Ernst Lange makes a collection of a hundred or more in his *Die Eingänge der altfr. Karlsepen*, Diss., Greifswald, 1904. The author of the *Entrée d'Espagne* relates the circumstances of his undertaking to write this history. The Archbishop Turpin appeared to him one night in a dream asking that he transcribe into an "estorie rimee" his story of Charlemagne's conquest of Castille, since his own version was only understood by the learned world, or "gient letree." (*Enirée d'Espagne*, v. 46ff.)

[3] *Hist. litt. de la France*, vol. XX, p. 269.

abound in fabulous inaccuracy and fantasy, it is that "l'élément poétique s'y reconnaît; seulement les inventeurs ne sont pas les poètes, mais les générations dont ils consacrent les plus chers souvenirs."

But what are these generations whose memories they cherish? In view of the seemingly irrefutable arguments in favor of the late origin of the epics, that is to say, of a period not earlier than the XIth century, we may appreciate how impossible it would have been to present a very faithful picture of an epoch so far removed and about which so little could have been known as, for example, the expedition of Roncevaux in 778? It is noteworthy, according to Bédier, that in spite of passing their lives in praising Carolingian France, the poets knew almost nothing about it.[4] Their historical notions of this period, says Langlois,[5] are not only incorrect and banal, but offer no information concerning Charlemagne and his age "qui ne fût de nature à courir les rues en leur temps, c'est-à-dire au douzième siècle." What the author of the *Chanson de Roland* was more familiar with, and this is the convincing argument of Boissonnade, was the history of the Crusades,—the period extending from the latter part of the XIth century through the first half of the XIIth;[6] and arguments advanced for this poem may be applied in general to them all, presenting as they do the characteristics and conventions of their earlier model. The information which these poems present may be considered as accurate as any we possess, but this is to be applied, not to the epoch of the stories in question, but to one more nearly contemporaneous with that of the actual composition of the epics.

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[4] *Hist. de la Nation française:* chap. on the *chansons de geste*, vol. XII, p. 183.

[5] Quoted by Bédier in the above, p. 183.

[6] *Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland*, Paris 1923. He demonstrates this through the exactitude with which is presented the geographical, military, social, and economic world of the Musulmans—not of the VIIIth—but of the XIth and XIIth centuries. It is likewise the memories of the Crusades which cause the poet to group on Spanish soil the combined representatives of the enemies of Christianity from the pagans of the North and East of Europe to the Musulmans of Africa and the Orient. For souvenirs of the Crusades in other poems, G. Paris, *Rom.* IX, p. 11; L. Demaison, Intro. to *Aymeri de Narbonne*, p. 147. F. E. Mann in *Das Rolandslied als Geschichtsquelle und die Entstehung der Rolandsäulen*, Leipzig 1912, presents quite a different theory for the source of inspiration of the *Chanson de Roland*. He believes it depicts in reality Charlemagne's campaign against the Prussian Retra and Stettin in 778, and Roland's death at Prenzlau.

In concentrating, as in this present study, upon a particular phase of the civilization which these works portray, we believe it legitimate to suppose that when the poets are generally conscious of certain phenomena, these conditions must in some measure at least have existed. Care will be taken not to draw too literal conclusions, but we may feel justified as to certain general ones, and in the belief that the source of the evidence, if only through its bulk and persistency of appearance, relied upon some fairly definite foundation of fact.

II

The French—their Allies and Enemies

By the very nature of their subject-matter, the epic poets found themselves somewhat free of the burden of either geographical or ethnographical accuracy. In depicting, if only nominally, a world so remote as that of Carolingian France, they enjoyed great artistic license and could draw their material unchallenged from the most varied and inexact sources. While they might be accurately informed in regard to individual peoples and localities, once outside the realm of their own particular experience, their notions of the world at large were vague and general. Their works are unusually rich nevertheless in ethnological references and even a cursory examination of Langlois' Table will reveal with what frequency these occur.[1]

Europe and the world in general were conceived and classified as either Christian or pagan. Charlemagne was the recognized and all-powerful sovereign of Christianity and he had added to his kingdom the greater part of western Europe, including Germany, Italy, and a part of Spain. This is the testimony of the author of the *Couronnement de Louis*, who says:

> Deus ne fist terre qui envers lui n'apende:
> Il i apent Baviere et Alemaigne,
> Et Normandie et Anjou et Bretaigne,
> Et Lombardie et Navare et Toscane.
> (v. 16.)

and of Wace in the *Roman de Rou:*

> Charlemaine
> Qui tint Seisuine e Alemaine
> E Rume e France e Lumbardie
> E d'Espaine mult grant partie.
> (*Rou II*, v. 661.)

These countries, in turn, were divided into many races and

[1] E. Langlois: *Table des Noms propres dans les chansons de geste*, Paris, 1904.

tribes within themselves. These divisions are frequently referred to, especially in the case of the poets' native country of France, most of whose dialectal and territorial districts receive mention sooner or later in the epics. Beginning with Brittany on the west and encircling the country towards the east,[2] we find France divided very much as today into: Bretagne and the "Breton" or "Berton"; Maine and the "Mansel" or "Mansiaus"; Normandie and the "Normant"; Paris; Picardie and the "Picart" or "Pohier"; Artois and the "Artisien"; "Lohereine" and the "Lorrain"; Champagne and the "Champenois"; "Nivernois"; Auvergne and the "Auvergnat"; Provence and the "Provenchiaus"; "Languedoch"; "Cateloigne" and the "Catalan"; "Bascle" and the "Bascle"; "Gascoigne" and the "Gascon"; "Perigort"; Limosin and the "Limosin"; Marche; Berri and the "Berruier"; Poitou and the "Poitevin"; Anjou and the "Angevin"; "Toraine" and the "Torois" or "Tornois"; "Orlenois" and the "Orlenois;" Perche; and so forth.[3] Whether the poets conceived the *ensemble* of these races as a political and linguistic unit representing "France" and the "Franceis", would be a debatable question.[4] Certainly the French of the

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[2] *Cf.* linguistic map in *Grundriss der rom. Philologie*, Strassburg, 1904, Band I.

[3] For references and variants cf. Langlois: *Table des Noms propres.* In the foregoing list should be included certain peoples and districts whose ancient names have disappeared. Among these are Herupe and the Herupois, by which was meant the country and inhabitants comprised between the Seine, Marne and Loire rivers. (*cf.* O. Rohnström: *Etude sur Jehan Bodel*, Thèse, Upsala, 1900, p. 109); and the Vermandois, who lived in the neighborhood of St. Quentin. The inhabitants of certain cities are frequently cited and play at times an important rôle. They may be mentioned side by side with peoples of larger districts and may therefore be understood as constituting separate political units. Among these are: Cambrai and the "Cambrisien," "Narbone" and the "Narbonois," etc.

[4] Gautier in the *Revue d. Questions hist.*, vol. 7, p. 84, is of the opinion that by "France" and the "Franceis" in the *Chanson de Roland* are designated not only the inhabitants of the Ile de France but the feudal dependencies of Bavaria, Normandy, Brittany, Poitou, Auvergne, Flanders, Friesland, Lorraine, and Burgundy, and concludes: "c'est donc à peu près le même pays qu'a battu le cœur de Roland et que battent les nôtres." C. M. Höfft, on the other hand, demonstrates in his *France, Franceis, et Franc im Rolandsliede*, Diss., Strassburg, 1891, that in the poems posterior to the *Chanson de Roland*, a narrowing of the signification of these terms is apparent, and that by "France" is meant only that territory north of the Loire and corresponding to the kingdom of Hugues Capet.

Ile-de-France, and, as we shall see, their language, were differentiated to a certain degree from the surrounding peoples, otherwise we should not be so carefully informed, as in *Folque de Candie*, that in a certain part of the army were placed men from Maine, Anjou, etc., while in another were those of France, who constituted a different race or language:

> A une part se traient Manssel et Angevin
> E Normans et Bretons et tuit li Poitevin,
> Et cil de France en l'autre, quar il sont d'un latin.
> (v. 12938.)

or again, in the *Chanson de Roland*, that Charlemagne's army was composed of ten corps, three of which were French as contrasted with those composed of Bretons, Normans, etc. (*Roland*, v. 3026–95).[5] But, from another point of view, these races are represented so consistently as allies united under French leadership against a common enemy as to seem identified with the French people in general, and therefore, in conformity with the political conception of the Empire as existing under Charlemagne. Under the same category and in spite of the obvious linguistic barriers due to their Germanic origin, must be grouped the allies from the northeast and the Low Countries. These include the "Flamenc", the "Hanvier", the "Brabençon", the "Avalois", and further to the north, the "Frison". To these must be added the "Englois", who figure constantly among the French forces, and whose appearance, one of the many anachronisms of the epic poems, seems most probably a reminiscence of the Norman Conquest or of the participation of this people with the French in the Third Crusade in 1190.[6]

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[5] J. Malsch in his *Die Charakteristik der Völker im altfr. nationalen Epos*, Diss., Heidelberg, 1912, collects evidence of well-defined characterization and racial distinction in the representation of the various peoples composing the French forces.

[6] It is likewise an anachronism that the Lotharingians should be mentioned in such lists, for this term did not exist until after the Treaty of Utrecht of 843, when this territory fell to the dominion of Lothaire, for whom it was named; also that the Normans and the Frisons and the Norois, in place of being classed, as they should be historically at the epoch of the stories, as among the worst enemies of the French, should figure so frequently in the epics among their ranks.

The Italians are usually referred to as the "Lombart," and their country as "Lombardie."[7] The term "Italie" occurs in *Girart de Rossillon*, where an explanation of its meaning is supplied: "Italie que l'on dit Lombardie" (v. 105). Sometimes the entire country may be designated as "Lombardie," or sometimes this term may be contrasted with that of Toscany, as in "ne por grever Toscane et Lunbardie" (*Chev. Ogier*, v. 4203),[8] or with southern Italy or ancient Apulia, as in: "Itaire (out num) Puille et Lumbardie" (*Rou* II., p. 30). The term "Lombart" may also be used to refer to the people of northern Italy only, while "Longebart," which occurs only occasionally, appears to designate the inhabitants of Apulia and Sicily.[9] In *Brut*, another tribe, the Romans, are included:

> Li Romain sont de l'une part,
> De l'autre Puillois et Lombart.
> (v. 3129.)

The Lombards, being a Christian people, and belonging, moreover, to Charlemagne's empire, appear frequently as allies of the French,[10] although usually referred to jeeringly as cowards or traitors, and held up to ridicule in general.[11]

Among the German tribes, the poets were also conscious of racial distinctions. This is evident from such lists as the following from the *Chanson de Roland*, where Bavarians, Saxons, "Alemans," and "Tiedeis" are represented among the peoples summoned to Charlemagne's counsel for the trying of Ganelon:

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[7] *Cf.* M. Zweifel: *Longobardus-Lombardus*, Diss., Zürich, 1921.

[8] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 48–65.

[9] *Cf.* G. Paris, *Rom.* XIX, p. 100; also P. Meyer, translation of *Gir. de Roussillon*, note, p. 6.

[10] F. Gabotto in his *Notes sur quelques Sources italiennes de l'épopée française au moyen âge, Rev. d. Langues rom.*, 1897, p. 249, demonstrates their appearance as enemies as well and the "fait historique que les Lombards du Midi et les Grecs furent alors et depuis très souvent les alliés des Sarrasins contre les Francs."

[11] For examples cf. *Longobardus-Lombardus*, pp. 66–83; and Tobler: *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, III, p. 98; and H. Theodor: *Die komischen Elemente der altfr. Chansons de geste*, Beih. zu *Ztschr. f. r. Phil.* Heft XLVIII, 1913, pp. 57–61; C. Piton: *Les Lombards en France*, Paris, 1892, pp. 7–9.

Baivier e Saisne sont alet a conseill
. . . . . .
Asez i at Alemanz e Tiedeis.
(v. 3793.)

or again from a similar one from *Orson de Beauvais:*

Or m'antandez, dit il, Alemant et Frison
Et François et Tyoiz et Normant et Breton.
(v. 3437.)

The term "alement" was originally used in a more restricted sense than at present and denoted the tribe of the Alemanni, or inhabitants of southwestern Germany. As Zimmermann demonstrates,[12] the older *chansons de geste* employ this primitive meaning, while the later poems intend the term to designate the German people in general. He finds that throughout the epics, "alement" is the term most generally employed in referring to the German people. In like manner the name of the country "Alemaigne" from being originally intended to designate southern Germany, came finally to mean Germany as a whole. This is its signification when Charlemagne is referred to as Emperor of Germany (*Anseïs*, v. 10351). The word "Germaine" was a more learned term for "Alemaigne," with which it was used synonymously, as Wace explains: "Germaine fu Alemaine" (*Rou* I, 77; II, 26).

By the "Tiois" or "Tiedeis" were designated originally the inhabitants of the regions along the lower Rhine, or the Germans of the Northwest.[13] Perhaps Cologne was a boundary line, for in the *Chanson des Saisnes*, Charlemagne, who is encamped at this city, learns that the "Tiois" and the Saxons are close neighbors: "Tiois et Saisne sont si prochain voisin." Later the Alemant and the Tiois seem to be conceived as the same people, according to the synonymous usage of these two terms in such comparatively late poems as *Berte aus grans pies:*

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[12] K. L. Zimmermann: *Die Beurteilung der Deutschen in der franz. Lit. des Mittelalters, Rom. Forschungen*, 1911, p. 226.

[13] Cf. M. Remppis: *Die Vorstellungen von Deutschland im altfr. Heldenepos.* Beihefte z. *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, Heft XXXIV, p. 4.

> Adont tenoient Franc les Tiöis por amis
> Bien parut puis a Charles . . .
> Que Alemant estoient chevalier de haut pris.
> (v. 160.)

and *Hugues Capet,* where the expression "allemans thiois" occurs (v. 117). According to the map presented by Remppis,[14] we may assume the following arrangement of the German peoples: northern Germany composed of Tiois on the west and Saxony on the east; southern Germany, of Alemaigne on the west, Bavaria on the east. His general conclusions about the German peoples are that originally they are clearly differentiated from each other; later the "Alement" and the Bavarians are associated more closely together as opposed to the Saxons, the "Tiois," and the Lotharingians. Gradually references to the Bavarians disappear, likewise to the Saxons, leaving the "Alement" in the south, and the "Tiois" in the north. Finally, the "Alement" and the "Tiois" become identified as one people under the name "Alement."[15]

Two categories of Germans are to be distinguished: those appearing as allies of the French, and those appearing as enemies. We may hear that "adonc tenoient Franc les Tyois por amis" (*Berte,* 158), or read, in the *Chanson des Saisnes,* of a great war conducted against this people. The union of the French and Germans to aid each other mutually in the wars against the Saracens is of frequent occurrence. Adenet le Roi informs us of this: "s'aidoient li uns l'autre contre les Arabis" (*Berte,* 159), as likewise the author of *Galiens li Restores:*

> Mais avec vous yront François et Alemant
> . . . . . .
> Pour guerroyer payens et les gens Tervagant.
> (p. 2.)

In the *Chanson de Roland,* Charlemagne's third army corps is composed of thirty thousand Bavarians and his fourth of twenty

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[14] *Cf. ib.,* p. 61.
[15] *Cf. ib.,* p. 7.

thousand "aleman" (vs. 3028–38)[16] and we learn of the prestige they enjoyed[17] in the Emperor's eyes, second to none but that of the French themselves:

> En cele sunt li vassal de Baiviere
> . . . . . .
> Suz ciel n'ad gent que Carles ait plus chiere
> Fors cels de France.
>
> (*Rol.*, 3028.)

or again, as in *Berte:*

> Bien parut puis a Charles qui fu roy poëstis
> Que Alemant estoient chevalier de haut pris.
>
> (v. 162.)

They are also frequent figures in the French court:[18]

> Kalles tint sa court grant a Paris sa meison
> Si i furent François et Flamenc et Frison,
> Alemant et Bavier et Normant et Breton.
>
> (*Gui de Nanteuil*, p. 6.)

and may be referred to as "no baron d'Alemaigne" (*Enf. Ogier*, v. 5604). Such lists, concludes G. Paris,[19] show that France and Germany, at the dismembering of the Carolingian empire, continued for a long time a life in common and that in Charlemagne's army the peers of France are still traditionally represented as Francs as well as French.

Under the second category of Germans it is to be remarked that the Saxons figure more conspicuously as enemies of the French than the other tribes.[20] This is probably due to the memories of the war conducted against this people by Charle-

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[16] Other examples of Germans appearing as allies of the French may be found in: *Gor. e Isembart*, v. 29; *Aspr.* III, 5, 13, 19; *Ch. d. Saisnes*, v. 4570; *Ogier*, vs. 193, 203, 7991; *Raoul*, v. 726; *Amis*, v. 981, etc.

[17] *Cf.* Zimmermann: *Die Beurteilung der Deutschen*, pp. 284ff.

[18] *Cf. ib.*, pp. 230–234; and Remppis: *Die Vorstellungen von Deutschland*, pp. 79ff.

[19] *Romania*, vol. II, p. 334.

[20] *Cf.* Remppis: *Die Vorstellungen von Deutschland*, pp. 76ff; Rohnström: *Etude sur Jehan Bodel*, p. 174.

magne in 775, an account of which is given us by Jean Bodel in the *Chanson des Saisnes*. This race may even appear as both friend and enemy in the same poem, for in the *Chanson de Roland* they are placed first with the Hungarians and Bulgars among the "gent averse" (v. 2921), and figure later among the German tribes summoned for the trial of Ganelon (v. 3700).[21] When represented as enemies, the Germans might fall under the all-embracing category of Saracens, although here again it is more particularly the Saxons who undergo this confusing of nationalities.[22] That "Saisne" and "Sarrazin" were synonymous we learn from Jean Bodel's blunt statement: "Sarrazins ert li Saisnes, et creoit en Mahon." (*Ch. d. Saxons*, v. 53.)

In the *chansons de geste* any enemy of the Christians may be relegated to the category of pagan. By this term the poet conceives, naïvely enough, any race non-baptized, whose religion may be referred to indiscriminately as that of the cult of the gods of Greek mythology or of that of Mahomet or Tervagant.[23] Jean Bodel is true to this convention, therefore, when he says that the Saxons believed in Mahomet.

Perhaps the most imposing and varied assemblage of pagan races under one leadership is to be found in Baligant's army in the *Chanson de Roland*. We learn that this army is composed of thirty corps and of as many different peoples. These are named either after their ethnical origin or from the country or city from which they come. Although the identity of many of these races has never been fully established,[24] they can be grouped, according to G. Paris and L. Gautier,[25] into the following categories of races: Slavic (such as the Slavs, the Sorbs, the Milceni, the Wilzes, the Prussians, the Russians, etc.); Tartar (such as: the Huns, the Hungarians, the Avars, the Petchenegs,

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[21] For explanation of such apparent discrepancy, *cf.* Boissonnade: *Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland*, Paris, 1923, p. 169; Jenkins: edition of the *Chanson de Roland*, note, p. 204.

[22] *Cf.* Remppis, p. 96.

[23] For the juxtaposition of these terms as against the Christian unity, *cf.* K. Jarecki: *Über die heidnische Dreieinigkeit im Rolandsepos*, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, vol. 40, 1920, p. 497.

[24] The most exhaustive recent investigations are those of P. Boissonnade in his *Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland*, Paris, 1923; *f.* also Jenkins, pp. 224–229.

[25] G. Paris in *Romania*, vol. 2, p. 329, and Gautier in his edition of the *Chanson de Roland*, pp. 288–93.

the Turks); Caucasian (the Armenians); Hamitic (the Nubians, the Negroes); Semitic (the Moors, the people of Samuel, the Persians) as well as into a number of seemingly imaginary or unidentified peoples. The obvious anachronism in such an assemblage is the inclusion of all the races in strife with the Christians not only of the epoch of the story itself but of that of the poet, or three centuries later.[26] When Charlemagne is described therefore as uniting on Spanish soil all the forces of pagandom, from the barbarians of the north to the warring tribes of Africa and the Orient, we must recognize the poet to be following the conventional and grandiose conception of his day, which permitted such inaccurate lapses, and that these are the memories of a later age, when all these peoples at one time or another were in conflict with Christian Europe and the Crusaders. Such enumerations, therefore, are merely poetic license and represent the poets' testimony, according to Boissonnade,[27] "de l'immensité de la tâche des chrétiens, qui incombe à la France, gardienne de l'honneur et de la sécurité du monde chrétien."

Once an enemy of the French and therefore a pagan, the foe is usually referred to sooner or later under the stigmatizing term of Saracen, without regard for ethnological distinctions. The majority of the poems deal, to be sure, with the wars against this race, whether in France, Spain, Italy, or the Orient. But the poets were familiar as well—either from hearsay or actual participation—with the expeditions against the Danes, the Greeks, the Lombards, or the numerous eastern and northern tribes encountered during the Crusades and at other times.[28] The Saracens seem to have been an all-absorbing topic of interest and the poets felt obliged, apparently, to introduce this race as frequently and in as unfavorable a light as possible. That

[26] Paris and Gautier believe that the IXth, Xth, and XIth centuries are more particularly represented. Boissonnade more conclusively argues for the first quarter of the XIIth. He demonstrates that the localities described with such geographical exactitude, were not conquered before 1110–20 and therefore could not have been familiar to the *trouvère* before that date.

[27] *Du Nouveau*, p. 169.

[28] The conquest of Spain was not, as a matter of fact, the accomplishment or the primary interest of Charlemagne, as so many of the poems would lead us to suppose. His true work, as Boissonnade reminds us (*Du Nouveau*, p. 238) had been "la conquête de la Germanie païenne et des pays danubiens qu'il avait soustraits au joug des Avars."

Saracen was a generic and all-embracing term for any enemy may be seen from its synonymous use not only, as we have seen for the Saxons, but in such expressions as: "Sarasin Turc" (*Galien*, v. 150); "Sarasin Grigois" (*Bas. d. Bouillon*, v. 199); "Serasin Persant" (*Ogier*, v. 2320); "Sarasin Escler" (*Ans. d. Cart.*, v. 966); etc. Likewise in the *Roman de Rou*, the Normans are referred to as "la gent Sarazine" (v. 422), while in the Saracens of *Aquin* must be recognized the "Norois," since this name occasionally is applied to them.

It would be aside from the purpose and scope of our study to present a complet list of the various races mentioned as enemies of the French. Some of these, as we have seen, may appear variously as both ally and enemy; others, such as the Huns, may receive but a single mention (*Roland*, v. 3254). It is obvious that the poet wishes to represent Charlemagne, as hero and guide of all Christianity, in conflict with the entire "païenie coalisée,"[29] or the "tote paienie" of the *Entrée d'Espagne* (v. 831), and for this reason enumerates, at times confusedly, at times with careful selection and attention to the *ensemble*, "toutes les nations infidèles qu'il connaissait."[30] Classification will be attempted, therefore, only in so far as this particular study is involved, and the table of peoples and languages, which is included at the end of the essay and which it is hoped may serve for the purpose of ready identification, will contain the various names appearing in these pages.

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[29] Boissonnade, p. 235.
[30] G. Paris, *Rom.* VII, p. 330.

III

Confusion Occasioned by the Disparity of Languages

It is pertinent to call to mind as a foreword the *Serments de Strasbourg* of 842, for being the earliest extant monument in Old French, it presents at the very threshold of our recorded knowledge of this language, the difficulties occasioned by the confusion of speech. Ludwig the German and Charles the Bald have waged war against their brother Lothaire, whose share of their father's heritage they have been endeavoring to seize. After the defeat of Lothaire in the battle of Fontanet, and the division between themselves of this remaining portion of Charlemagne's great empire, the victorious brothers meet at Strasbourg to vow mutual allegiance and fidelity in the presence of their assembled troops. But since these armies speak different languages, the oath, to be intelligible to both sides, must be cast in the respective idioms of the two peoples. Charles is therefore obliged to speak in "teudisca lingua" or German, and Ludwig in "romana" or French, words to be repeated thereupon by the two armies each in its own tongue.[1]

Relying upon the authority of others for all similar evidence drawn from sources other than the poems themselves,[2] we find, upon arriving at the *chansons de geste* of the XIIth century, that it becomes a common occurrence for foreign-speaking elements to be united within the same ranks. The poets supply us with lengthy enumerations of these various races and we encounter such typical lists as the following:

A Pampelune vint Karles, li bons rois,
Ensemble o lui Borgeignon et Franchois
Et Alemant et Lombart et Englois
Et Braibenchon, Flamenc et Avalois,

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[1] *Cf.* G. Paris: *Les Serments de Strasbourg* in *Miscellanea di Filologia e Linguistica*, Firenze, 1886.

[2] Brunot presents a number of interesting examples in his *Hist. de la Lan. fr.*, vol. I, p. 58.

Breton, Normant, Angevin, Hurepois,
Et Poitevin et Gascoing et Basclois
Et Provenchel, ki sont preu et cortois.
(*Anseïs de Carthage*, v. 9594.)

or again:

Bien le faisoient no baron d'Alemaigne
Et cil de France, d'Anjou et de Bretagne,
Bourgoigne, Normant, et la gent de Champagne,
Flamenc, Pouhiez, n'i a tel qui se faigne,
Et pluseur autres, Diex les gart et maintaigne.
(*Enfances Ogier*, v. 5604.)

While no particular order or pattern seems apparent in enumerations of such general, even casual nature[3]—and there would be, in fact, but little reason for more formal arrangement—we find that when the actual formation of the army is described with any degree of detail, the poets are careful to group these various peoples with a certain amount of racial and linguistic appropriateness. The author of *Folque de Candie* definitely informs us of an army's being drawn up with such distinction in mind:

A une part se traient Manssel et Angevin
E Normans et Bretons et tuit li Poitevin
Et cil de France en l'autre, quar il sont d'un latin.
(v. 12, 938.)

Perhaps the most detailed account of the composition of the French army occurs in the *Chanson de Roland*. Here we learn that Charlemagne has arranged his forces of 360,000 men in ten corps, or "eschieles," the first two of which are composed of

[3] Certain predilections, nevertheless, in the grouping of two peoples in isolated phrases, such as "François et Bourgeignon" (*Anseïs*, vs. 2926, 3920, 4295, 11171, etc.); "Normant et Breton" (*Ro*, 1996, 3245, 3532, etc.); "Angevins et Manceaux," "Aquitains et Peitevins" (*cf.* P. Meyer, trans. *Gir. d. Roussillon*, note, p. 163) are conspicuous throughout the poems, though perhaps of slight significance for the point in question. Sometimes the choice in such grouping seems determined merely by the exigencies of the rime.

"Franceis"; the third of "li vassal de Baviere"; the fourth of "Aleman"; the fifth of "Normans"; the sixth of "Bretuns"; the seventh of "Peitevins et des baruns d'Alverne"; the eighth of "Flamengs et des baruns de Frise"; the ninth of "Loherengs et cels de Burguigne"; and the tenth, again, of "baruns de France" (vs. 3026–89). Selecting those divisions in which two peoples are united within the same corps, we find grouped together the men from Poitou and Auvergne; those from Flanders and Friesland; those from Lorraine and Burgundy; provinces which in all cases, according to the territorial maps for this period,[4] bordered one upon the other, and therefore, it must be supposed, of less linguistic disparity. More abundant evidence of the same nature is to be found in the composition of the army "batailles" as described in *Anseïs de Carthage*, where are grouped: the "Lombars et chiaus de Pise"; the "Engles et Walois"; the "Baiviers et Salendois" (or "Hollandois"); the "Gascons et Bordelois et Provenchiaus et chiaus de Carcasois"; the "Angevin et Hurepois"; the "Poitevins et Tornois"; the "Ostunois et chiaus de Lengres"; the "Borgoins et Campegnois"; the "Laonois et chiaus de Terasse et chiaus de Sasognois"; and finally, under the Emperor himself, the "Franchois, Flamens, Braibans, et chiaus d'Artois, et Cambrisiens et chiaus de Vermandois et les Pouhiers et tous les Aminois et Biauvoisins et chiaus de Boulenois." (vs. 10, 054–104.) Here there are ten instances of grouping and in each case is apparent a deliberate and appropriate assortment of races.[5]

But in view of the widely divergent dialects and pronunciations existing throughout France, sufficient at times, according to Gaston Paris,[6] to render the inhabitants of one province almost foreigners to their immediate neighbors, it must have

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[4] *Cf.* Longnon: *Atlas Historique de la France*, Plates V, IX, XI.

[5] For identification of these various peoples, see Table, p. 104. The arrangement of "eschelles" in *Gir. d. Roussillon* (p. 163) is also to be noted. Here are grouped together: the "Manceaux," the "Berruyers," and the "Bretons," the "Peitevins" and the "Aquitains;" the "Normants," the "Flaments," the "Poherencs," and the "Vermandois." Meyer in the introduction to his translation of this poem says: "Ces divisions sont généralement formées d'hommes du même pays ou de pays voisin. C'est du reste ce qui peut être constaté en une infinité d'autres textes." (p. LXXIII).

[6] *La Poésie du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1895, p. 46.

been impossible to avoid some confusion of tongues within an army. Among the allies of Hervis de Metz, for instance, are found men from France, Champagne, and Burgundy, and this fact is recognizable from their speech:

> De France furent et de Champagne ne
> Et de Bourgogne, bien le sot au parler.
> (*Hervis von Metz*, v. 3960.)

In *Folque de Candie*, the pagans refer to the French as the "gent des estranges lenguages" (v. 4691), and in *Enfances Ogier*, they are spoken of as the "gent de maint langage" (v. 377); and likewise in the *Entrée d'Espagne* (v. 34). The *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* informs us of Richard distributing wages and rewards to his army, which is composed of "Franceis" and "gent de plusors languages" (v. 5362).

The poets make frequent mention of these differences of dialect,[7] and we are reminded of the familiar statement in regard to Queen Berte: that she spoke the French of Paris almost as well as if she had been born "au borc a Saint Denis,"[8] while the author of the *Entrée d'Espagne* informs us that the chronicle he claims to be following is written in French in which there is not a word of Burgundian:

> E les batailes che par cronice son
> En vers François, n'i ot mot Bergognon.
> (v. 2798.)[9]

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[7] This holds true, not only for the *chansons de geste*, but for all poetry of the Middle Ages. Jean de Meung in his translation of Boethius offers apology for his rustic dialect, his French not being that of Paris; while Blonde in the *Romance of Blonde of Oxford* spoke French almost as well as if she "ne fu pas nee a Pontoise" (v. 358); Conon de Béthune complains of being ridiculed for employing the dialect of Artois, explaining that he was not "nouriz a Pontoise." *Cf.* Nyrop in his *Gram. Hist. de la Lan. fr.*, vol. I, p. 22; Brunot in his *Hist. de la Lan. fr.*, vol. I, p. 330.

[8] Recalling Chaucer's Prioress, who spoke French "after the scole of Stratford atte Bowe, for French of Paris was to her unknowe." *Cf.* Brunot, vol. I, note, p. 330.

[9] An interesting reference to pronunciation is to be found in this poem, when Roland in his wandering through Spain encounters an old hermit

Wace is likewise conscious of the fact that the French king, Charles the Simple, and the invading Normans spoke different languages, for when the former wishes to negotiate with this people, he sends as messenger the Archbishop Franque, who was familiar with foreign tongues:

> Enveiez fu a Rou a porter cest message,
> E il le sout bien faire si cunut maint langage.
> (v. 1118.)

Henri l'Alemant also employs a linguist in dealing with this race:

> Henri enveia Cone, ki ert de grant parage,
> Al duc de Normendie, qu'il eust grant ostage,
> . . . . . .
> A Willeame parla si fist bien sun message.
> . . . . . .
> Cone sout en tyeis e en normant parler.
> (*Rou*, v. 1622.)

In this same poem appears the term "daneschier," probably coined by Wace, since this is its only appearance.[10] It is used in referring to the speech of the Danes in conflict with Richard of Normandy:

> Forment les oissiez daneschier e crier
> E encuntre Richart durement estriver.
> (*Rou*, I, v. 4385.)

In *Anseïs de Carthage*, the pagan Marsile, in sending a messenger to the French, must employ a man who could speak:

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whose rapid articulation betrays him as being a native of Rome:

> Apres a dit Roland: "Dites moi, bon hermite,
> E don fostes vos nes? La parole subite
> Vos enchuse de Rome ou Sainte Eglise habite."
> (v. 14796.)

A. Thomas in his edition of this poem (*Soc. d. anc. textes fr.*) refers to this passage as a: "curieux témoignage sur la prononciation des Romains du Moyen Age et qui vise probablement la langue vulgaire plutôt que le latin."

[10] *Cf.* Godefroy: *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, Paris, 1902.

et flamenc et franchois,
Normant, breton, hanvier, et tiois.
(v. 8050.)

while among the languages attributed to the accomplished Saracen maiden Mirabel, are: "borgengon, poitevin, et gascon" (*Aiol*, v. 5420). Auberi the Burgundian, while in Flanders, hears certain natives speak a mixture, we are told, of Flemish and English. He is unable to understand them, and mistaking their nationality, asks what those "Tiois" are saying:

Dient Flamenc: "Cist menra grant bobois."
Flamenc parolent et li auquant englois.
Dist Auberis: "Que dient cil Tiois?"[11]
(*Aubri*, Tobler, pp. 26–7.)

Later in the same poem, we learn that the Flemings scorn the French because the latter are unable to understand their language:

Et cil Flamenc nos tienent en viute
Por lor langaie que ne savons parler.
(p. 28.)

Also we are told that among the French at Orleans were mingled Bavarians and "Allemands" and that "l'un parle tiois, l'autre roman" (*Gir. d. Roussillon*, Meyer translation, p. 60).

The pagan army is likewise conceived as being composed of polyglot forces. In *Fierabras*, Charlemagne finds himself confronted by the Emir and a host composed of "XIIII langages" (v. 5133), and this number is surpassed in *Aliscans* where:

Car Desrames a ja la mer passee
De XX langages a la gent assemblee.
(v. 8327.)

[11] This passage from *Aubri* is particularly interesting, for it proves that this hero, who was from Burgundy, was unfamiliar with the German tongue, and that this province was linguistically more closely related to France than to Germany.

While these figures are not of course to be taken too literally, they are significant as expressing the poets' consciousness of the numerous foreign elements within the ranks of the foe, a conception which is further borne out by the phrase "la gent de maint langages," employed at times in referring to the Saracens (*Ogier* v. 1667, *Entrée d'Espagne*, v. 11, 826); or to the Saxon army, composed of "roi et aumacor de maint divers langages" (*Ch. des Saxons*, p. 100).

Among the pagans we may expect the most fantastic assemblage of races, of which the following by Jean Bodel is typical:

> D'autre part sont poste Guiteclin[12]
> Danois, Saisne, Lutis, Hongre, Rous et Hermin
> Et la gent de Illande, Leonais, Pelerin,
> Cheneleu, Acopart, Persan, Turc, Bedoin,
> Dou regne de Marec vindrent li Barbarin
> Et li Amoravi et li Alexandrin.
>
> (*Chanson des Saisnes*, II, p. 65.)

What order or ethnological arrangement is to be gleaned from such apparent chaos? May we suppose at least that the poet glanced at his map while writing and grouped his peoples according to broad geographical lines, such as, in the second verse, from Denmark to Armenia, that is to say, from north to southwestern Europe; or in the third verse, from Ireland through Leon into Spain; or, beginning with the Cheneleu or Cananaens from the east to the west along the Mediterranean? We wonder also if these men were conscious of no incongruity or inaccuracy of statement in assigning to the Saracen Fierabras, for instance, the kingdom of "Alixandre," "Babylone dusc'a la rouge mer," "Coloigne," "Roussie," and "Palerme." (*Fierabras* v. 48.) The question remains unsolved for us. Perhaps we should agree with Gaston Paris,[13] who thinks that such confusion of nationalities could not have existed originally as a popular conception: "on ne peut admettre que le souvenir populaire ait confondu à l'origine, les Mores d'Espagne, les Saxons, et les Slaves.

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[12] The Saxon king.
[13] *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, Paris, 1865, p. 454.

La Chanson de Roland seule, surtout dans la première partie, semble avoir conscience de la différence de ces peuples."[14]

[14] The so-called Baligant episode in the *Chanson de Roland* offers perhaps the most interesting case in question. The pagan army is here drawn up (v. 3217) into three main divisions of ten "eschieles" each. The following table outlines in brief the information on these various peoples according to G. Paris (*Rom.* II, p. 329; *Rom.* XI, p. 404); P. Meyer (*Rom.* VII, p. 435); Gautier (ed. of the *Ch. de Roland*, Paris, 1887, pp. 288–93); Boissonnade (*Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland*, Paris, 1923, pp. 152–237); Jenkins (ed. of the *Ch. de Roland*, Boston, 1924); Mann (*Das Rolandslied als Geschichtsquelle und die Entstehung der Rolandsäulen*, Leipzig, 1912). Separate reference to any of the above sources will be indicated by P., M., etc., while because of the wide divergency in opinion, Mann's identifications will be presented in a separate column.

First Division

People	Identification	Race	Mann
1. Butentrot	Valley in Cappadocia, now called Bozanta (J.)	Slavic (J.)	Bocianreize ("stork-stream" the Brahe)
2. Micenes (Milcenes)	The Milceni in upper Lusatia.	Slavic	Mizani (Pomerania)
3. (a) Nubles	The Nubians from central Ethiopia.	Hamitic	Niebely (the river Nebel in Mecklenberg)
(b) Blos	The Polovtzes? (J.)		Polabi (on the Leba)
4. (a) Ros (Bruns)	The Swedes or Russians (P.); the "Browns" of Braunschweig ? (J.)	Slavic	Brus (Ferse)
(b) Esclavoz	The Slovenes from the northeast.	Slavic	Slavoni (Slavs on the right bank of the Oder)
5. Sorbres	The Sorbs between the Saale and Elbe rivers.	Slavic	Sorbs
6. (a) Ermines	The Armenians	Caucasian	Ezeras (Jezero Sea)
(b) Mors	Indeterminate tribe of Moors		Pomeranians
7. Jericho	Biblical allusion	Semitic	Jezericowan seaport
8. Nigres	Ethiopians	Hamitic	Czarny (the "Black" around Czarnikau)
9. Gros	Unidentified; perhaps the Grudi between Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor; the Georgians from Grouzia? (J.)		Grod ("castle")
10. Balide la Fort	In Syria between Aleppo and Bagdad (B.); Pöhlde near Göttingen ? (J.)		Balga (on the Frisch-Haff Bay)

In the course of contact with such variety of races and languages, with due allowance made for the inaccuracy and exaggeration of the poets' statements, it is natural that there should have existed, just as in the *Serments de Strasbourg*, linguistic confusion and failure to understand one another. The poets, moreover, were well aware of this, and were not slow in making capital of such situations. Let us notice with what detail and with what artistic effect Wace introduces this language element in depicting a battle-scene between the English and the Normans. First are mentioned their various battle-cries, the Norman "Deus aie" and the English "ut, ut" (v. 8079). In the midst

(" *continued*)

SECOND DIVISION

PEOPLE	IDENTIFICATION	RACE	MANN
1. Canelius (Chanelius)	The Cananaens (M.)	Tartar (J.)	Ugannians (Livonia)
2. Turs	The Turks	Tartar-finnish	Turon (Thorn)
3. Pers	The Persians	Indo-European	Ber ("fighter")
4. Pinceneis	The Petchenegs on the Black Sea and lower Danube.	Tartar	Pecanaci
5. (a) Soltras	The Scythians in Poland? (B.); the city of Soltania in Persia ? (J.)		People of Soldau
(b) Avers	The Avars around the Sea of Azof		Rez (Rizani: "people of the river")
6. (a) Ormaleus	The Jarmlenses in Ermland	Lettish (B).	Ermland
(b) Euglez (Uglez)	The Arabs along the Gulf of Persia (B.); the Ugleci ? (J.)	Slavic	Engrès ("the Fat")
7. Gent Samuel	Arab or Jewish tribe (P.); the inhabitants of Samland (modern Königsberg) (B.); the Bulgarians (J.).	Semitic or Slavic	Sameleis (Samland)
8. Bruise	The Pruzzi along the Baltic; Brusa, town in Bithynia (J.).	Lithuanian	Braunsberg
9. Esclers (Esclavers)	The Slavs	Slavic	Slavs (Lithuania)
10. Occian le desert	The river Oxus (region of Black Sea) (B.); the Theme of Opsicianum (of which the capital was Nicaea) (J.)	Tartar ? (B.)	Hoggland

of the turmoil and shock of contact, the English rally round each other and accompany each fresh assault with shouts and challenges. But the Normans cannot understand these foreign

(" *continued*)

THIRD DIVISION

PEOPLE	IDENTIFICATION	RACE	MANN
1. Malprose	Unidentified		Mar Broda ("bay")
2. Huns	Wandering Magyar tribe	Tartar	Hunedes (Balga)
3. Hungres	Hungarians	Tartar	Ingres (Ingarii from Ingermannland)
4. Baldise la Lunge	Bagdad (B.)	Tartar	Baltike (Witland)
5. Val-Penuse	Upper region of Tiger and Euphrates		Vallis paenosa (Upenai: "belonging to the river")
6. (a) Aiglent	Unidentified		Negeln
(b) Marmuse	Marasch (along the upper Taurus) (B.).		Maruzi (marica: "small sea")
7. (a) Leus	Lutici or Wiltzes (the Duchy of Mecklenberg (P.); the Poles (B.).	Slavic	Lius (the Livonians)
(b) Astrimoneis	Strymonis in Macedonia (B.); the Saracen tribe of Esturmans (Estrumans, etc.) ? (J.).		Ost Eimena ("east river")
8. Argoilles	Heraclea in Asia Minor (B.)	Tartar	Agilla (for "Ragusa")
9. Clarbone	Unidentified		Carbons (the Kurs, or Kors on the Kurisches Haff)
10. Val-Fonde	Unidentified		Vallis wunda ("water")

A glance at the above assortment of races and territories will suffice to prove—provided of course that their identifications have been correctly established—that the poet had small concern with any sort of ethnological appropriateness in the grouping of the pagan foe. Though obviously well-informed as to the geography of northern and eastern Europe, northern Africa, and the Levant, he assembles these peoples almost at random and diverts our attention in turn from Asia to Europe; from Europe to Africa, etc., with confusing rapidity (*cf.* first three "eschieles"). Mann alone, who is endeavoring to prove that this poem is depicting Charlemagne's campaign against Retra and Stettin in 778, and Roland's death at Prenzlau, and whose identifications, if not particularly convincing, are always ingenious, would reveal some order or system on the part of the poet. The first division he finds to consist of races living between the Oder, Weichsel, Waarthe-Netze, and the Baltic; the second and third of Prussian peoples living in ports or along the rivers and seas in the same general neighborhood.

words and their only impression is that of the barking of dogs:

> Quant Normant chient, Engleis crient,
> De paroles se contralient.
> E mult sovent s'entredefient,
> Mais ne sevent que s'entredient.
> . . . . . .
> Normant dient qu'Engleis abaient
> Por la parole qu'il n'entendent.
> (*Roman de Rou*, v. 8087.)

Wace exploits this idea to the full and refers again in a later passage to the strange sounds which a foreign language may produce. To the unfamiliar ear, this produces not the effect of speech at all, but more nearly resembles the cries of animals:

> Normant fuient, Engleis crient,
> . . . . . .
> Engleis les aloent gabant
> E de paroles laidissant.
> "Cuert," font il, "mar i venistes"
> . . . . . .
> Cil escotoent e soffreient
> Ne saveient que il diseient,
> Co lor ert vis qu'il glatisseient
> Kar lor langage n'entendeient.[15]
> (*ibid.*, v. 8237.)

Similar comparison of the sounds of foreign words or cries to those of animals, and of dogs in particular, is found in the *Chanson de Roland:*

> Cil d'Ociant i braient et henissent;
> Et cil d'Arguille cume chien i glatissent.
> (v. 3526.)

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[15] In the *Roman de Brut*, the situation is reversed, for here the confusion of battle is so great between the Britons and the Romans that the only means of distinguishing foe from ally is by their words:

> Ains onques connissoit on
> Qui ert Romain et qui Breton
> Fors que tant solement as cris
> Et as paroles et as dis.
> (v. 12442.)

while in *Floovant* we hear again of the strange sounds created by the pagan tongues: "chacuns en lor latins et braient et glatissent" (v. 1208). Frequent mention is made of the battle-cries, both of the Christians and of the pagans, and as these might consist not only of short phrases, but of entire sentences, it can be seen that they alone constituted an important linguistic element in every engagement between foreign races.[16] That the poets were conscious of this is evident, not only from the above passages from Wace, but from the *Entrée d'Espagne*, where definite mention is made of the language in which such a cry is uttered: "Puis a crie s'ansaigne a vos en Espanois" (vs. 10, 190). In *Aliscans* we are told how one might hear on the battlefield:

> Moult hautement enseignes a crier
> Paiene gent et glatir et huper.
>
> (v. 5902.)

and in the *Chanson d'Antioche* how:

> Crestiiens et Paien chascuns s'enseigne escrie,
>
> (vol. I, p. 32.)

while in some instances, as we shall see, the foreign words, such as "Godehelepe," "Godeherre," "ut, ut," etc., are actually quoted.[17]

Other linguistic difficulties might arise upon the battlefield.

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[16] Du Cange in his *Dissertations*, Nos. VIII and IX (*Collection de. Mém. rel. à l'histoire de. France*, Paris, 1819, pp. 213–262) makes a collection of these battle-cries, and explains their usage. He informs us that they were calculated to incite the troops to new courage and to revive their enthusiasm. They consisted at times of brief invocations to God and the Virgin, or to some patron saint; or again might be composed of longer phrases or entire sentences, such as: "Dieu aye Montjoie nostre Dame au Rou de Saint Denye" (Ms. de *Bert. du Guesclin*). They might also be drawn from the coats-of-arms of some illustrious house, such as that of the Dukes of Brabant: "S. Malo au riche duc"; or be derived from the name of the capital of a state, such as in Phil. Mouskes' Chronicle:

> Et Ruen escrient li Normant,
> Bretagne hucent li Breton,
> Bourdeaux et Blaves li Gascon.

Cf. also Jenkin's *La Chanson de Roland*, Boston, 1924, note p. 94.

[17] *Cf. Chanson des Saxons*, p. 52; *Folque*, v. 14594.

In *Folque de Candie*, William, hard-pressed by the pagan Bauduiz, is addressed by the latter in an unfamiliar tongue and is therefore unable to reply to his adversary:

> Il dist: "François, mout ies pres de ta fin;
> Guenchis vers moi, si sail fors del chemin."
> Cil ne dist mot, qu'il n'entent son latin.
> (v. 27.)

Another failure to understand the foreign tongue occurs in *Esclarmonde*, when Huon arrives before the enemy's gates and is greeted in Arabic. But since this language is foreign to him, it is found necessary to have recourse to interpreters:

> Et Sarrasin sont a lencontre ale,
> En lor langage ont Huon salue.
> Mais il ne set que il voelent parler.
> Les latimiers ont tantost apeles.
> (v. 1481.)

In many instances, to be sure, the poets forget the disparity of speech existing between foreign races, and absorbed in their story, presuppose French to be the only medium of communication. But this is not a very surprising lapse and could find its parallel in all story-telling up to the present day. In three of the earliest poems, for instance, *Chanson de Roland*, *Gormond et Isembard*, and *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, the language-medium receives no mention at all. But in the later and more sophisticated works, the poets are more conscious of the differences in speech existing between two peoples, and it is rare, as we shall see, that they are not referred to in some form or another.

IV

Foreign Words and Attempts at Etymological Explanation

In view of the bulk of the *chansons de geste* and the frequent references to languages, the actual introduction, or citation of foreign words is rare. As the poems were popular in nature and usually designed to be sung in public,[1] perhaps their authors did not dare risk too great a show of learning. However this may be, they usually limit themselves to informing their hearers what language is referred to and only occasionally seek further realism through quotation of the foreign tongue. These consist mostly of Latin phrases and may occur in prayers,[2] references to the Deity,[3] or in citations from the Bible.[4] It is curious that the greater number of these should appear in the single poem of *Entrée d'Espagne*, and Antoine Thomas concludes that its author is "un clerc assurément et à qui il ne déplaît pas de faire parade

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[1] Evidence that the *chansons de geste* were sung rather than recited, has been afforded by J. B. Beck, who calls attention to the following passage from Johannes de Grocheo, a theorician and analyst of the various genres of music practiced in his day at Paris, among which is that of the "musica vulgaris" accompanying the "gesta heroum"; "*Cantum* vero *gestualem* dicimus, in quo gesta heroum et antiquorum patrum opera recitantur, sicuti vita et martyria sanctorum et adversitates quas antiqui viri pro fide et veritate passi sunt, sicut vita beati Stephani protomartyris et *historia regis Karoli*. Cantus autem iste debet antiquis et civibus laborantibus et mediocribus ministrari, donec requiescunt ab opere consueto, ut auditis miseriis et calamitatibus aliorum suas facilius sustineant et quilibet opus suam alacrius aggrediatur. Et ideo iste cantus valet ad conservationem totius civitatis." Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, *La Musique des Chansons de geste* par Jean Beck, Paris, 1911. *Cf.* also Jenkins: Intro. to *La Chanson de Roland*, p. XL.

[2] One of the longest of these is that of Richard of Normandy upon entering a monastery where:

> Puis dist, quant il seigna sun vis:
> "Per hoc signum sancte crucis
> Libera me de malignis
> Domine Deus salutis."
> (*Rou*, v. 311.)

Cf. also *Rou* II, vs. 7401; 9290.

[3] Such as "Pater alpha et om" (*Conquête de Jérusalem*, v. 3893); "Nomine Damme" (*Gaydon*, v. 105); "Ecce servus Domini" (*Entrée d' Espagne* v. 15164).

[4] For examples see: F. Busigny: *Das Verhältnis der Chansons de geste zur Bibel*, Diss., Basel, 1919.

de son latin."[5] But aside from their linguistic value when appearing in rime with French words, these Latin phrases are of slight significance.

Of greater interest is the appearance of German words. Although not employed with great frequency, they are always effective in enhancing the local color of the scene. In *Aimeri de Narbonne*, the Germans on two occasions in conflict with the French, call out: "Godehelepe"[6] (v. 1636 and v. 2821, where it is spelled "Godehelpe"), and once their battle-cry of "Godeherre" (v. 1753). Likewise we read in the fragment of *Doon de Nanteuil:* "Et Alemant et Sesne qui jurent *Godeherre*" (v. 61). In the *Chanson des Saisnes*, appears the word "Got" with an explanation of its meaning:

> Dux estoit le Hollande une terre ou mers clot,
> "Ainz irai en ma terre ou l'on claimme Deu *Got.*"
> (v. 378.)

and in *Floovant* the German translation of the word "vergier":

> En sus de ce chastel . . .
> Ot plante un vergier que l'on apale *gart.*
> (p. 20.)

Of disputed origin is the term "bigoz" appearing in the following passage from the *Roman de Rou:*

> Mult ont Franceis Normanz laidiz
> E de meffaiz e de mesdiz,
> Souent lor dient reprouiers
> E claiment *bigoz* e draschiers,
> Souent les ont meslez al rei,
> Souent dient: "Sire, por quei
> Ne tolez la terre as *bigoz?*"
> (vol. II, v. 4777.)

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[5] Edition of the *Entrée d'Espagne*, vol. I, p. XLIII. O. Müller in his *Das lateinische Einschiebsel in der franz. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, Diss., Zurich, 1919, demonstrates that Latin is used in the Old French literature for two reasons: either because of the linguistic inadequacy of the French language, or for stylistic motives.

[6] From the spelling with "p" instead of "f," Remppis concludes that the poet must have become familiar with this word in the region north of the Mosel. (*Die Vorstellungen von Deutschland im altfr. Heldenepos*, Halle, 1911, p. 53).

Diez calls this a nickname given by the French to the Normans because of the frequency with which the latter employed the oath "bi Gode," and cites an earlier appearance of this expression in a Chronicle for the year 1137 (Bouquet VIII, 316), where Duke Rollo refuses to kiss the foot of Charles the Simple, exclaiming on this occasion: "ne se bi God." This is the interpretation accepted by Körting, Meyer-Lübke, and others, but L. Spitzer (*Ztschr. f. rom. Phil*, 1924, p. 188ff.) believes because of Chambure's translation of "biquot" as "chevreau" in his *Glossaire morvan*, a term which resembles in form the "bigoz" employed by Wace, that this perhaps is its antecedent, and would translate it as meaning something akin to the German "Hurenbock." But since "draschiers," the accompanying term of reproach applied to the Normans, means simply "malt-eaters," it is to be wondered if the latter interpretation has not too strong a connotation, and whether the French would have dared to employ so violent a term to their powerful adversaries.

Curious Old English expressions abound in the works of Wace, who seems more than any of the early poets to have known and relied on foreign and dialectic terms. An isolated word may appear as in: co dist qu'il vit qu'alques fu *ros*."[7] (*Rou* II, v. 6820); or a translation or explanation be supplied, as in "Alierot,"[8] or "Sainte croiz" in French (*ib.*, v. 8005); "Godemite" meaning "Deu tot poissant" (*ib.* 8009); "brant"[9] meaning "chief de la nef devant" (*ib.* 6476); or "saetes que Engleis clamoent *wibetes*"[10] (*ib.* 8183). Distorted Old English words are to be recognized in the following passage depicting the orgy of the English troops on the eve of their battle with the Normans:

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[7] Anglo-saxon "ruh" meaning "rough."

[8] Anglo-saxon "halig rod," Modern English "Holyrood."

[9] Anglo-saxon "bremme," Modern English "brim."

[10] "Wibetes" meaning a "dart." (*Cf.* Andresen, note to edition of the *Roman de Rou*, vol. II, p. 714.)

Bublie crient e weisseil
E laticome e drincheheil
Drinc hindrewart e drintome
Drinc folf, drinc half e drinc tode.[11]
(*ib.*, 7357.)

Interesting also is the description in the *Roman de Brut* of King Arthur's fleet sent against the Romans, in which an obvious search for local color is apparent in the assembling of such dialectic nautical terms as: "vindas," "betas," "hel," "raelingues," "estuins," "escotes," "utagues," and "boelines," variously explained as of Spanish, Germanic, and Anglo-Saxon origin.[12] He also introduces the curious old battle-cry of the English: "ut, ut"[13] (*Rou* II, v. 8079), and that of the Bretons; "Maslou" (*Rou* II, v. 2687), which recalls its appearance in other poems under a great variety of dialectic forms, such as: "sainz Malax" (*Ch. d. Saines* I, v. 195); "Malou la Bretine" (*Horn*, v. 1659); "sains Malous de Bretaigne" (*Aubri*, p. 20); "S. Merloz" (*Aspremont*, v. 9709); "sainz Malloz" (*Folque*, v. 125); "san Macloi"; "saint Machot"; "saint Machloit" (*Entrée d'Espagne* 4526; 8570; 8607), etc.[14] Obviously proud of his linguistic knowledge, he informs us that "*urbs* est latins, *citez* romanz, *cestre* est anglois, *kaer* bretanz" (*Brut*, v. 1263).

Wace is also the etymologist *par excellence* among the early poets. He delights in devoting long passages to the explanation of the origin of words, his interest being chiefly concentrated on names of places and people, and calls attention to the fact that

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[11] Andresen, relying for "bublie" on a variant reading "bied blide," translates this entire passage as follows: "Be blithe (crient e) wassail, let it come (e) drink a hail, Drink after (e) drink to me, Drink full, drink half (e) drink to thee" (Note to edition, vol. II, p. 709). Some of these words reappear in the *Roman de Brut*, where Wace himself explains their meaning. They originated during the betrothal ceremonies of the Saxon maiden Rowena to King Vortigerne. The latter, saying "drinkel," extended the wine-cup to Rowena, and when she had drunk, embraced her. Ever afterwards, it was the custom in similar great feasts for the betrothed to say, first, "weshel," then "drinkel," and after having drunk "plain ou demi," to kiss one another. (*Rou*, v. 7135.)

[12] As indicated by Le Roux de Lincy in his edition of *Brut*, vol. II, note, p. 141.

[13] Is this the English "out"?

[14] This is, of course, the ancient Sanctus Maclovius, and the modern Saint Malo.

in the course of long ages and the "muement de langages," the primitive names have frequently been lost and substitutions made. This was true, for instance, in the case of "Engletere," "Lundres," "Paris," and a long list of others (*Rou* I, v. 77). His typical manner of "toying" with a word may be seen in the following explanation of the name "northman":

> *Man* en engleis e en norreis
> *Hume* signifie en franceis
> Justez ensemble *north* e *man*
> E ensemble dites *Northman;*
> Ceo est *huem de north* en rumanz.
> . . . . . .
> Normant soelent estre apele
> Cil ki la dunt north vient sunt ne.
> (*Rou*, I, v. 59.)

But the Norman poet, as A. Thomas calls to our attention,[15] teasingly reminds his hearers that the French, conceived at that epoch as distinct from the Normans, did not wish to accept this terminology, and had forged the less flattering etymological explanation:

> Franceis dient que Normendie
> Ceo est la gent de north *mendie:*
> Normant, ceo dient en gabant,
> Sunt venu del north mendiant.
> (*ib.*, v. 75.)

Wace's explanations, if not always accurate, are, at least, ingenious: such as, for example, his etymology for the name "Tornee," an island in the Thames, so-called because "ee" in English meant "isle" and this island contained many thorns (*Rou* II, v. 5536); or for Stonehenge (spelled variously Senhange, Stanhege, Estanges) meaning "pieres pandues" (*Brut* I, v. 8385). Not without difficulty does he derive "Bretaigne" from "Bruto" (*ib.*, v. 1210); "Cornuaille" from "Corineo" (*ib.*, v.

[15] *Nouveaux Essais de philologie française*, Paris, 1904, p. 4.

1216); "Englois" from "Angle," from the fact that the Saxons were at one time hard-pressed or driven "in angula" by the Britons (*Brut*, v. 7293); "Londres" from King Lud (*ib.*, v. 1269); "Hanstone" from the Roman Hamon, who was killed in this place (*ib.*, v. 5115). Another lengthy, even verbose, explanation is interesting enough to be quoted in its entirety; it is devoted to the name "Cernel":[16]

> *Cernel* cest non que jo ai dit
> En romans est *Deu voit* ou *vit;*
> *Cerno cernis*, ce est *veoir*
> Et Delx a non en ebreu *El*
> Ce des deux moz est fez *Cernel.*
> *Cerno* et *El* sont ajoste,
> Li uns dist *voir*, l'autre dist *De.*
> Mes une letre an est ostee,
> De la fin de *Cerno* sevree:
> Si est par une abscision
> Fete la composition.
>
> (*Brut*, v. 14233.)

He informs us that this same dropping-out of letters occurred in other cases, and how from the name of King Bladus, the founder of the city of Bath, was formed "Balda" with "la seconde letre L ostee" (*Brut*, v. 1671); and how from "Kareuse," a city or "kaer" situated on the river "Usche," where there had been a "legion" of Roman soldiers, was made "Karlion,"[17] in which "legion" had become "lion" and an "e" been lost from "kaer," the result being a "non plus petit" and a word "abregie par sustransion" (*Brut*, v. 3214).

Various other poets indulge in these etymological digressions, and one learns, not without a certain astonishment, according to A. Thomas,[18] that the word "ethymologie" was familiar to the *trouvères* of the XIIth century. The author of *Girart de Rossillon* informs us that the name "Rossillon" is of Latin origin, "ro" meaning "maistre," and "sillons" signifying "conseiller"

[16] This is the modern Cerne-Abbey, situated on the river Cerne.
[17] The modern Caerleon, well known as the reputed headquarters of King Arthur of the romances of chivalry.
[18] *Nouveaux Essais*, p. 4.

(v. 515). Others, he adds, suppose it to be derived from "ros-signoz," and warns us not to be surprised at such variance, for as many heads, as many opinions, and each one adds his gloss: "tant chief, tantes sentences, chascun en dit sa clause" (v. 536). His observations continue as follows:

> Lelonc celle monteigne est assise *Poutieres*,
> Par ethymologie puet l'on dire *Pautieres*,
> Quar en yver y a trop grant foison de *pautes*.[19]

Likewise in the *Entrée d'Espagne*, a hermit reminds Roland of the origin of his name: that "roe" signifies "raison" and that he who does not serve God is neither wise nor worthy. (v. 14781.)[20]

Needless to say, the information we are thus afforded is not always of scientific value, but is interesting, aside from its wit[21] and naïveté, in revealing at so early an age, this curiosity as to the derivation of words, and the popular opinion of the day concerning them.[22] Wace's authority, in particular, is by no means always to be rejected, nor should we relegate to an unsophisticated antiquity a man who was already conscious of the fact that:

> Ensi vienent sornom sovent
> Por mult po de commencement
> Et por mult petit d'aventure
> Vient un sornom qui longes dure.
>
> (*Brut*, v. 5118.)[23]

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[19] "Pautes" meaning "dust."

[20] A. Thomas in his edition of this poem calls attention to this pseudo-etymological interpretation, which he thinks borrowed from Turpin's chronicle: "Rotholandus interpretatur *rotulus scientiae*, quia omnes reges et principes omnibus scientibus imbiebat."

[21] Thomas concludes that "on avait déjà de l'esprit au XIIme siècle," but that the French have perhaps been handicapped in this respect, for "un bon étymologiste ne doit pas avoir d'esprit." (*Nouveaux Essais*, p. 4.)

[22] Isidore of Seville had attempted the same thing, to be sure, 600 years earlier.

[23] Other explanations of foreign words and etymological comment are to be found in *Brut*, vs. 8611; 15174; *Gaufrey*, p. 120; Ph. Mouskes' *Chronicle*, v. 9807. *Cf.* also those presented by O. Müller in *Das lateinische Einschiebsel in der altfr. Lit. d. Mittelalters.*

V

The Ability to Speak Foreign Languages

General references to linguistic ability

Leaving aside for the present the category of interpreters, clerks, messengers, spies, etc., whose special office it was to know foreign languages, we may appropriately begin the study of the cult of foreign tongues with Charlemagne himself. One poet informs us that he spoke not only "grejois" (employed loosely, as we shall see, in the *chansons de geste*, to denote not necessarily Greek, but any pagan speech) but all other languages as well:

> Et salue Aquilant com ja oïr porres,
> En langage grejois, que tous les latins set.
> (*Gui de Bourgogne*, v. 1371.)

Turpin's Chronicle corroborates a part, at least, of this statement,[1] for here we learn that Aigolandus, the Saracen king, is pleased to converse with the Emperor in the Arabic tongue, a language which the French monarch had acquired in his youth at Toledo. The same period of his life and his ability to speak Arabic are referred to in Philippe Mouskes' Chronicle[2] and the

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[1] Mox ut Aigolandus agnovit loquelam suam arabicam quam Karolus loquebatur, misatus est multum et gavisus est. Didicerat enim Karolus linguam sarracenicam apud urbem Toletum in qua, cum esset iuvenis, aliquanto tempore commoratus est." (*Turpini Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, Chap. XII., p. 20. F. Castets, Montpellier, 1886.)

[2] Quant Karles ot parle un peu
Sarrasinois qu'il savoit bien,
Merville soi sour tote rien
Agoulans, ki parler l'oi
Et la raison bien entendi;
Mais il l'ot a Toulaite apris
Au roi Galafre, u fu tramis.
(*Chr. d. Ph. Mouskes*, v. 5285.)

Et si savoit plusiors langages,
Si que drugeman l'apieloient
Cil ki de sa mesnie estoient.
(*ib.*, v. 2988.)

Chronique des rois de France,[3] in the former of which he is reputed with sufficient linguistic knowledge to have earned for himself the title of interpreter. Likewise in Eginhard's history of Charlemagne,[4] we are informed that his native speech did not suffice him and that he had applied himself to the study of foreign languages, learning Latin as perfectly as his own tongue. He was not so successful with Greek, however, which he understood better than he pronounced. It will be seen in a later chapter how his linguistic accomplishments were to prove of good stead on more than one occasion.

Roland was likewise alleged to be a linguist, and he says of himself:

> Je sai le langaje de Perse e l'Aufricaine,
> La Greçoise, la Hermine, e sai la Suriaine.
> (*Entrée d'Espagne*, v. 11466.)

This ability is attested to again in the same poem and we read:

> Seignor, Rollant estoit apris de maint latin,
> Car il savoit Greçois, Surien, et Ermin.
> (v. 11522.)

Being addressed by a pagan pilot, this hero is able to reply, therefore, in the foreign language:

> Est le storment devant lui genoile;
> En son langaje dist: "Ci t'a envoie?"
> . . . . . .
> Respond Roland qe bien fu latine:
> "Vostre merci" . . .
> (*ibid.*, v. 11588.)

His accent was none too perfect, however, for, later, in his attempt to pass as a Saracen, it betrays him as a foreigner:

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[3] "Toutes ces paroles parla Karles a Agoulant en sarrazinois" (Chr. d. rois de France, ms. Berne 607, 94a).

[4] "Nec patrio tantum sermone contentus, etiam peregrinus linguis ediscendis operam impendit; in quibus latinam ita dicidit ut aeque illa ac patrilingua orare sit solitus; Graecam vero melius intellegere quam pronuntiare poterat." (*Vita Karoli Imperatoris: Eginhardi.* L. Halphen, Paris, 1923, p. 74.)

"Por mon chief," dit l'autre, "qe je croi qe il ment,
Il non parle la lange d'Espagne droitement."
(*ib.*, v. 14545.)

In spite of Antoine Thomas' statement that there was no traditional foundation for attributing to Roland this knowledge of Oriental tongues,[5] Turpin's chronicle informs us that the pagan giant Ferracute addressed Roland in the Saracen language and that he understood it well enough.[6]

William of Orange was accredited with a knowledge of Greek, Arabic, and many other languages:

Grigois parole, bien fu latimes,
Sarrasinois resavoit il asses;
De tos langages estoit endoctrines.
(*Aliscans*, v. 1374.)

and again in another poem:

Et Guillaume parla li preus et li sachans,
Sarrazinois savoit, apris l'ot des lonc tans.
(*Folque*, Anlage IV, v. 549.)

The senechal Godefroi, because of his knowledge of the heathen tongue, was able to conduct King Louis through the enemy's country:

Rois Loeys repaire de Paris la chite;
. . . . . .
Godefrois les conduist, u pais ot este;
Il sot mout bien les marces et le latin parler.
(*Elie de Saint Gilles*, v. 2534.)

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[5] Edition of *Entrée d'Espagne* (S. D. A. T. F.) note, p. 299.

[6] "Loquebatur ipse lingua hispanica quam Rotholandus satis intelligebat." (Chap. XVII, p. 30).

[7] A. Thomas in his edition of the *Entrée d'Espagne*, p. 294, believes that the knowledge of the Saracen tongue attributed to Ogier is a proof of the poet's familiarity with the legend which makes of this warrior the son of a Saracen prince of Spain, who when very young came under Charlemagne's protection and was baptized.

To Ogier the Dane is ascribed the same knowledge: "Oger, vos qi savez parler Saracinois" (*Entrée d'Espagne*, v. 9563)[7], and Bueve de Hantone is represented as sufficiently fluent in "persant" and "aufricant" to have been mistaken for one of the pagans:

> "D'une voisdie s'est Bueves pourpenses,
> Bien sot persant et aufricant parler
> Se il encontre Sarrasin ne Escler
> Par sa parole s'en vaurra escaper.
>
> (Fest. *Bueve de Hantone*, Fassung II, v. 3027.)

This same knight spoke Armenian as well, a language he had learned while living as a refugee in that country (*ib.*, Fassung I, v. 1292). Peter, the Hermit, with his skin artificially darkened and speaking Arabic, resembled the heathens completely:

> Parmi l'ost des Paiens s'en est outre passes;
> Bien sambloit Sarrasin del visage et del nes,
> Car il estoit d'une herbe noircis et mascures,
> Et del Sarrasinois estoit enlatimes.
>
> (*Ch. d'Antioche*, vol. I, p. 42.)

Gilbert the Fleming had learned the following languages during his captivity in Spain: "turquois et aufricant, bedoin et basclois" (*Prise d'Orange*, v. 327). The Duke of Nevers, offering his services for a certain mission involving passage through the pagan territory, claims as his qualifications the knowledge of the following assortment of tongues:

> Mes je soi bien parler francheis et alemant,
> Lombart et espaignol, poitevin et normant.
>
> (*Gaufrey*, p. 279.)

Such a list—and it is not exhaustive, as we shall see—contains already the most illustrious names,[8] and suffices to establish,

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[8] In the *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, vol. 8, p. 601, we are informed from other sources of Godefroy de Bouillon's knowledge of foreign tongues. "Il est visible par sa lettre au Prince Boémond, laquelle lui étant particulière, ne peut faire une preuve équivoque, qu'il parloit aussi purement Latin qu'aucun écrivain de son temps. A la connaissance de la langue latine, il joignoit celle de la romance et de la teutonique, et s'en servit effectivement plus d'une fois à la Croisade pour appaiser les différences et querelles qui s'élevoient entre les François et les Allemans."

from the poets' evidence at least, the theory of linguistic attainment among the early heroes.

The *chansons de geste*, highly conventional as they are, present among their many stereotyped and stock expressions, certain ones which are of linguistic interest. These must first be recognized and justly evaluated in our search for foreign languages. The term "en son (lor) langage" may not refer at all to a specific tongue or idiom, but, employed so frequently as a conventional rime-filler, may signify nothing more than "in this wise" or "as follows," such as in: "Entre euls disoient la gent en lor laingaige: Biaus sire dex" (*Jourdain*, v. 3397).[9] It may also have the meaning of "tenor of a discourse" as in:

> En Rochebrune fist envoiier son message,
> Pour Saudoine nonchier qu'il viengne faire hommage.
> . . . . . .
> Mais Saudoines, quant sot du parler le langage, etc.
> (*Bastars de Buillon*, v. 100.)

In another poem where Guillaume, Guibourg, and the pagan Salatré are conversing and where a disparity of speech might be expected, its use is more or less ambiguous, but seems to signify a "parley" or "conference" of some sort: "I parleront tuit III en un language" (*Folque*, v. 2053). It may also refer to a race or people, as in: "Mult s'aficherent la gent de cel langage" (*Ogier*, v. 4791), or as we have already seen in another poem:

> Car Desrames a ja la mer passee
> De XX langages a la gent assemblee.
> (*Aliscans*, v. 8327.)[10]

In the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, it designates perhaps only those people speaking the Latin tongues, for we learn that the Emperor founded at Jerusalem a church which the "home de la

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[9] Examples of this usage may be found in: *Covenans Vivien*, v. 568; *Entrée d'Espagne*, v. 12950; *Otinel*, v. 943; *Folque* Anlage I, v. 16; An. III, vs. 171; 2816; 13993; 14736; *Anseïs*, vs. 593; 1197; 7896; *Ogier*, v. 2629; *Aspremont*, vs. 4727; 5421; etc.

[10] *Cf.* also *Fierabras*, v. 1533; *Ogier*, v. 1667; *Entrée d'Espagne*, v. 11826; *Folque*, v. 4691; *Enfances Ogier*, v. 377, etc.

terre claiment la Latine, car li lenguage i vienent de trestote la vile" (v. 210).[11]

In like manner, Latin, being in such constant use by the clerks and the ecclesiastical world, was so familiar as to assume at times the meaning, not of this specific tongue, but of "language" or "speech" in general. This is its obvious signification in such a passage as: "Il ot un livre pare de *toz latins*" (*Mort Aymeri* 381); or when reference is made to the Fruit of Knowledge in the Garden of Eden: "Il la manja, lors sot *autre latin*" (*Fol ue* 2148); or when speaking of the song of the birds in the same poem: "Et chantent cil oisel chascuns en *son latin*" (*ib.*, 12024). The phrase "en son latin" is employed most frequently in referring to some particular person's speech and is usually followed by a quotation of his words,[12] as in:

> Si li dist hautement li rois *en son latin:*
> "Portes avant l'enseigne a Mahon Jumelin."
> (*Bastars de Buillon*, v. 218.)

It may simply mean "speaking": "Amis, ce dit Sanson, lessiez *vostre latin*" (*Aye*, p. 93) or may signify "tone" or "tenor" of a discourse, as in: "Mere douz, changie *vestre latin*" (*Entrée d' Espagne*, v. 14268) or: "Mais orguelz nous aprent a dire *faulz latin*" (*Hugues Capet*, v. 2878); or again, it may refer to the "contents" of a speech, as in: "De quels noveles savez *lo latin*?" (*Mort Aymeri*, v. 590). It may also be used in referring to some particular language, not necessarily Latin, as in: "Tierris entent *le latin de sa terre*" (Fest. *Bueve de Hantone*, v. 12671), or again, when it is a question of the Saracen language, as in:

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[11] G. Paris, in commenting on this passage in *Rom.* IX, p. 24, says: "on sait que latin signifie au moyen âge toute langue étrangère. *Li langage:* les gens parlant les langues étrangères."

[12] Similar examples will be found in *Bastars de Buillon*, vs. 2223; 1080; *Aubri*, pp. 182; 201; 250; *Aspremont*, v. 6474; *Folque* An. I, v. 375; *Anseïs*, v. 3545; *Mort Aymeri*, v. 2571; *Aquin*, v. 935; *Godefroid de Bouillon*, vs. 3952; 4268; *Ogier*, v. 2745; *Chevalier au Cygne*, vs. 4239; 4605; *Bauduin de Sebourc*, Ch. VII, v. 201; *Entrée d'Espagne*, v. 896; *Maugis*, v. 1287; etc.

Le saint les ouyt, bien cognut *lour latin*,
Quar Sarrazins lui sont soupvent vaisin.
(*Aquin*, v. 3029.)

But in the majority of cases the word "latin" occurs at the end of the verse, and seems little more than a convenient filler-in, where "laisses" demand assonance in "i." With the exception of the curious poem of *Garin le Loherain*, composed through some strange predilection on the poet's part, almost entirely in this assonance—a poetic "tour de force" attempted perhaps to accord with his hero's name—we may almost invariably expect to encounter this word sooner or later in such strophes. Its appearance in the greater number of cases, therefore, has little bearing on our search.[13]

The term "romant," in addition to its use as designating the French language, may appear in the meaning of "words" or "idiom." As such it corresponds to this broader sense in which we have just seen Latin employed. Typical examples occur in the *Chançun de Guillelme*:[14]

Puis en reguardet Girart sun compaignun;
En sun Romanz l'en at mis a raisun.
(v. 623.)

It may also mean "story" or "affair," as in:

L'empereor salue dolcement en riant
Et les autres barons, car bien sot le romans.
(*Chevalier au Cygne*, v. 2939.)[15]

The linking of "roman" and "latin" becomes common in such set expressions as "en roumans sans latin," which may be

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[13] In like manner the adjective "latiné" or "enlatiné," derived from the same stem, may not signify always "skilled in speaking languages," but, as frequently, "of eloquent speech."

[14] *Cf. ib.*, vs. 1330; 1421; 1567; 1593; *Chanson des Saisnes*, v. 927.

[15] *Cf. Gaufrey*, p. 9; *Rou* II, vs. 151; 5317; 5331; *Aubri*, p. 249; *Prise de Cordres*, v. 1092; 1430. For "romanz" meaning literary production of one sort or another, as well as its being supplanted by "françois" to designate the language in the XIVth century, *cf.* P. Völker: *Die Bedeutungsentwickelung des Wortes Romans, Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, Band X, p. 485ff.

applied to the speech of both pagans and Christians, such as in the following passage where a Saracen is speaking:

> L'amiral Gloriant en apela Garin
> Et a parle en haut en rommans sans latin.
> (*Gaufrey*, p. 264.)

This may perhaps be interpreted as meaning "straightway" or "without more ado" or "words" ("latin").[16] The frequent association of the two languages gave rise also to such stereotyped expressions as: "ains qu'il ne desist *ne roumans ne latin*" (*Raoul*, v. 1603); or "ains qu'il ne parlast *ne latin ne roumans*" (*ib.*, v. 6987). But it is doubtful if any very definite meaning may be attached to terms which are hardly more than colorless "chevilles."

The word "sarasinois" may also be employed at times to denote "speech" in this general sense, but is more restricted in its usage in being applied only with reference to the heathen. It is to be recognized in such forms as the following: "Paiien s'escrient *en lor sarasinois*" (*Anseïs*, v. 3120).[17]

The *chansons de geste* underwent many transformations, as we know, at the hands of the clerks, who ceaselessly transcribed and freely revised them. As these men usually knew Latin, it is not surprising that mention of this language should appear more or less conspicuously in their works. Their fluent mastery of this tongue is referred to in such rime-fillers as: "Plus sot de fust que nus clers de latin" (*Ogier*, v. 6093), or as in the following passage, where the poet speaks of Death, which spares neither priest nor monk, archbishop nor clerk "tant sache de latin" (*Bauduin de Sebourc*, v. 131). Very frequently the poems will begin by an allusion to the Latin original:

> Ceste canchon, signour, doit bien estre prisie;
> Car translatez fu en divine clergie,
> Du latin en romans, n'el tenez a folie,
> A Saint Amant, a Bruges, en la liberarie.
> (*Bauduin*, Chant V, v. 1.)

[16] Other examples are to be found in: *Anseïs*, v. 806; *Bauduin de Sebourc*, Ch. XXII, vs. 87; 474; *Gui de Nanteuil*, p. 7; *Folque*, vs. 13979; 14154; *Aquin* v. 3050; etc.

[17] *Cf. Anseïs*, v. 4537; *Folque*, v. 2575; *Gui de Bourgogne*, v. 2760; etc.

Or again, how closely they will claim to be following this source, whatever be the accuracy or sincerity of such statements, may be seen in such passages as:

> Ne truis pas en latin Girars fust point voincus,
> . . . . . .
> Et por ce nous convient selonc le latin croire.
> (*Gir. d. Rossillon*, v. 5323.)
> Auxi com li latins s'en doit li romans taire.
> (*ib.*, v. 5487.)[18]

In this single poem as many as ten references are made to the Latin chronicle and its dogmatic authority.[19]

To accept at face value the use of the term "latin" in various instances, we should be led to suppose that this language was understood universally and constituted a sort of international idiom even among the pagans. In *La Mort Aymeri*, the Saracen king Guibert, upon seeing a cavalcade of unknown troops approach and wishing to ascertain their nationality, sends a messenger to demand it of them, and this parley, we are told, was conducted, not in Arabic or in French, but in Latin:

> "Alez avant, amis,
> Por demander se ce sont Sarrazin
> Ou marcheant qui vienent lo chemin."
> Et cil respont: "Ja n'en serez desdiz."
> Point lo destrier, a l'encontre lor vint,
> Si lor demande qui il sont en latin.
> (v. 1755.)

In another poem, a band of Saracens, in addressing the King of Armenia, choose Latin as their medium of speech:

> Vers Hermenie s'en vont li Sarrasin,
> . . . . . .
> La ont trove le riche roy Hermin,
> Il le saluent belement en latin.
> (*Bueves de Hantone*, Fassung III, v. 11367.)

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[18] For examples *cf.* E. Lange: *Die Eingänge der altfr. Karlsepen*, Diss. Greiswald, 1904.

[19] *Cf.* pp. 6 (2); 11; 15; 18; 29; 151; 223; 229; 260.

Likewise, when Auquaires, a Saracen messenger, falls into the hands of the French, he speaks to them in Latin: "Demande lor qui il sont en latin" (*La Mort Aymeri*, v. 2632). It is difficult to believe, however, that the Latin tongue itself is implied in such instances. It would be more reasonable to suppose that French as opposed to Arabic is here intended. This would then conform to the older conception of the "lingua romana," which, as H. F. Muller informs us,[20] was but the popular name for Latin and had remained attached to it as a "child's name to a centenarian." It was not realized until the Carolingian Renaissance or close of the VIIIth century that these two languages were distinct.[21] Perhaps even we are to recognize here a shortened form of the familiar "en son latin," which as we have just observed, means merely "in his words." This seems surely to be the case at least in *Gui de Bourgogne*, when the Saracen Huidres is conversing with his own men: "En latin lor a dit: Armes vos, franc guerrier" (v. 1966) and where no reason would be apparent for employing the Latin tongue.

We also know that it was the custom in the Middle Ages for letters and messages of political nature to be cast in Latin. In the poem of *Aspremont*, we are informed of the Archbishop Turpin's receiving a dictation from Charlemagne in "roman" which the former transcribes thereupon to Latin:

> Devant Karlon s'estut le jor Turpin,
> Il a pris penne et enke et parcemin;
> Escrist le carte del romans en latin.
>
> (v. 4149.)

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[20] H. F. Muller: *On the Use of the Expression Lingua Romana from the first to the ninth Century, Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, Band XLIII, 9-19.

[21] In another article: *When did Latin Cease to be a Spoken Language in France?* (*Romani. Review*, Vol. XII, No. 4, 1921), Muller demonstrates that the spoken language had, by the year 813, become sufficiently evolved to be called by the special name of "lingua romana rustica." This adjective "rustica" shows that the "lingua romana" had not long been considered as different from Latin. The word "romana," he continues, "seems to be still understood in its original meaning, viz., as opposed to non-Roman. But the evolution goes on apace: in 842 the name "*romana lingua* is about equivalent to *langue romane* (whereas in 813 the word *rustica* characterized the incorrect *romana lingua*, the *correct* language being obviously Latin)".

This use of Latin in official communications is ascribed to the Saracens as well, for when the letter of the pagan messenger Baudré is intercepted by the French, it is found to be in this language:

> Tierri fu sage clerc, bien sot latin parler;
> De chief en chief la lut, bien la sot deviser.
> (*Gaufrey*, p. 124.)

Perhaps we are to interpret the term "enromancier" likewise as meaning to translate from Latin into French, for in *Folque de Candie*, the letter which Foucon sends to William is submitted to the interpreter for translation:

> Bien a Bertran sa reson enchargiee,
> Au latimier l'a bien enromanciee.
> (v. 6123.)
> Prist lo sael, sel prist a depecier;
> Lo parchemin rendie au chancelier,
> Cil lo reçoit quil sot enromancier.[22]
> (*ib.*, v. 6430.)

Mention of the ability to speak Latin occurs quite frequently. This is usually accompanied by a corresponding reference to "roman." Garin le Loherain was taught both these languages when a young boy at school:

> Li Loherens fut a escole mis
> Com il estoit jouvenciaus et meschine;
> Bien savoit lire et roman et latin.
> (*Garin le Loherain*, p. 179˙)

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[22] We cannot be too certain, however, of the exact meaning of "enromancier." It seems to refer at least to the French language in particular, and not, as in the case of "latiné," "enlatiné," to clever or adroit speech. *Cf.* another example from *Folque* (v. 12530), where the pagan Froiecuer is speaking to the French: "Froiecuer fu mout preuz et bien enronmanciez; il a dit a Foucon: Or vous appareilliez." Also in the *Bataille de trente anglais et de trente Bretons*, Diss., Chicago, 1912, by H. R. Rush, where it seems to signify "written in French": "Et pour ceste bataille orrois souvent parler, Car l'en soit lez vieulx dis et tout par *roumander.*"

This accomplishment is referred to in a later passage in the same poem: v. 263; also in another poem relating to this hero:

> Car en s'enfance fu a escole mis
> Tant que il sot et roman et latin.
> (*Mort Garin*, p. 105.)

Völker demonstrates[23] that by this epoch "roman" had come to signify more specifically "good French" or clear, plain speech in good usage. In the passage just quoted he believes that by this term is meant "learned speech." Certainly if Garin's native tongue were French, there would be small point in informing us that he had learned to speak this language in school, and Völker's interpretation would seem the only logical one. But Paulin Paris tells us,[24] though no evidence is here supplied, that "la langue maternelle de Garin était le Tyois ou Allemand." In this case "roman" should be regarded as constituting a foreign language for this personage. His knowledge of Latin is put to practical use in one instance, for when the king is ill, Garin, who was also skilled in the art of medicine, undertakes to offer his services, and in demanding admittance of the porter of the royal bedchamber, adopts the Latin tongue ("Garin apelle le portier en latin," *Garin le Loherain*, p. 89). Paulin Paris suggests in regard to this incident[25] that he may have said: "ave" and that this use of Latin would have conveyed instantly to the porter the fact of his being a physician and thus obviated unnecessary delay in his passage to the king.

Aiol had also learned these two languages at school, where he had been taught by the hermit Moïses:

> Bien savoit Aiols lire et enbriever
> Et latin et romans savoit parler.
> (*Aiol*, v. 275.)

Ydain, having begun her education at the age of seven, had learned to read her psalter and write in Latin and French:

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[23] P. Völker: *Die Bedeutungsentwickelung des Wortes Romans*, p. 485.
[24] Note in his edition of this poem, vol. II, p. 263,
[25] Note to *Garin le Loherain*, vol. I, p. 89.

A ses VII ans fu a la lettre mise
Ele aprent tant bien sot son sautier lire
Et en romans et en latin escrire.
(*Yde et Olive*, v. 6314.)

Anseïs of Carthage, while living in Spain with his family, did not neglect the education of his two children, who knew more at twelve years of age, as we are naïvely informed, than others at twenty. They were taught Latin and French by their learned tutor Englebers:

Quant XII ans orent, cascuns fu plus parans
Ke teus en ot et xx et plus pasans.
Dans Englebers, ki mout par fu sachans,
Lor fist aprendre et latin et romans.
(*Anseïs*, v. 7559.)

An amusing incident due to the ignorance of Latin occurs in *Bauduin de Sebourc*, where this hero, wishing to return incognito to his home, has adopted the disguise of a monk. Encountering a priest in a certain monastery, he claims to be in possession of bulls from Rome, which enable him to sell pardons. He greets this monk by such a vigorous grasp upon the arm, that the latter cries out in pain, and speaking in Latin, begs that he loosen his grip. Bauduin surmises rather than comprehends his victim's words, for he is completely ignorant of Latin: "Bien pense qu'il disoit, mais latin point n'entent" (v. 405), but continues his process of intimidation by assuming "un regard du lion," which accomplishes its end and induces the helpless monk to believe it the Devil rather than God who had ordained such a priest. When the two begin the reading of the service together, the monk pronounces the responses in Latin, Bauduin's contributions consisting in gestures and nodding of the head. Later, when questioned, and still in Latin, about the bulls from Rome, he is finally at a complete loss to understand, although continuing his nodding. By this time, his suspicions fully aroused, the priest begins to scrutinize more closely the stranger's disguise, but at the sight of Bauduin's good, stout fist, prudently abstains from further argument.

Latin and French were therefore the languages *par excellence* which cultured and well-born people were supposed to speak. Of the latter tongue, moreover, we learn that it was the custom for children of high rank from other countries either to be taught French at home or be sent to France for that purpose. In *Berte aus grans pies*,[26] the poet tells us that among the great lords of Germany it was customary to have French people always in attendance in order that this language might be spoken, and that the King and Queen of Hungary, with the Princess Berte, knew French almost as well as if they had been born "au borc a Saint Denis."[27] It will be seen presently that although other

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[26] Tout droit a celui tans que je vous devis
Avoit une coustume ens el tiois pays
Que tout li grant seignor, li conte et li marchis
Avoient entour aus gent françoise tous dis
Pour aprendre françois lor filles et lor fis;
Li rois et la roine et Berte o le cler vis
Sorent pres d'aussi bien le françois de Paris
Com se il fussent ne au bourc a Saint Denis,
Car li rois de Hongrie fu en France norris;
De son pays i fu menez moult tres petis.
François savoit Aliste, car leens l'ot apris.
(*Berte aus grans pies*, v. 147.)

[27] Testimony for the prestige enjoyed by the French language in foreign countries is borne out in poems other than the *chansons de geste*. In *Partonopeus de Blois*, we learn that the King of Norway sent his nephew to France to learn this language:

Il est fils au bon roi Fabur
Qui Partonopeus l'ot tramis
Pour aprendre l'us del pais
Et de françois l'afaitement.
(Ch. II, v. 9.)

In the *Romance of Blonde of Oxford and Jehan of Dammartin*, the English had the same custom:

En son françois l'a salue
Et li quens n'i a delue
Qui le françois seut bien entendre
En France eut este pour apprendre.
(v. 129.)

Jean, who has entered the service of an English knight, attends his daughter Blonde at table and is often utilized by his mistress and her friends to teach them French:

souvent va
Jouer es chambres la contesse,
O les dames, qui en destrece
Le tienent d'aprendre françois.
(v. 392.)

Blonde's French improves greatly under this tutelage, for which reason Jean had endeared himself to her. The Count of Gloucester, on the other hand, is unable, in spite of frequent efforts, to master the difficulties of this tongue, and is usually obliged to fall back upon his native English.

languages are represented as being spoken in the *chansons de geste*, they are never endowed with the same honor and prestige.

Arabic

Since the majority of the poems deal with the wars against the Saracens, it is natural that this should be the most frequently mentioned foreign language in these works. The early poets tended, as we have seen, towards geographical and ethnological vagueness in their statements regarding the pagan foe. A corresponding inaccuracy characterizes their information in respect to the heathen languages, which receive a most varied terminology, and are referred to indiscriminately as Saracen, Spanish, Turkish, Persian, Bedouin, African, Basque, Armenian, and Greek, as well as by several curious and unidentified terms, such as "garisis,"[28] "aleis,"[29] or "salamoneis,"[30] and conceived apparently *en masse* by one poet who speaks of "tout le sarrasin" (*Aiol*, v. 5421) and by another who refers to them as "les langages de Spagne" (*Entrée d'Espagne*, v. 14393). In the present study, all of these pagan tongues will be designated, for lack of a better name, as Arabic, unless the poet himself gives more precise indications.

Although no very definite information or differentiation is supplied for these various languages, the frequency of their mention is significant in itself. The scrupulous pains almost always manifest to inform their hearers of the medium of speech

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[28] Li rois Baldus lou salua prumiers
En garasis, que li glos l'antendiet.
(*Prise de Cordres*, v. 2332.)
Le rois Judas parlait en garasie.
(*ib.*, 2587.)
G. Densusianu in his edition of this poem offers the following suggestion in regard to this word: "On peut songer à un rapprochement avec l'esp. *algarabia*." But as this is the only appearance of this word, it would be hazardous to form very definite conclusions as to its etymology.

[29] Here again is the unique occurrence of a term. "Aleis" may be an obscure reading for some other word ending in "eis," as the repetition of this suffix in the passage in which it appears would suggest:
Muat sa veie e changat sun latin
Salamoneis parlat tieis e barbarin
Grezeis alemandeis aleis hermin.
(*Chançun de Willelme: L'Archanz*, v. 2168.)

[30] "Salamoneis" perhaps derived from Soloman and refering to the Hebrew tongue.

employed between foreign peoples become a noteworthy characteristic of the epic poets, for this is a point they might well have ignored without unduly astonishing their modern readers. We conclude, therefore, that their public was more curious and exacting in this respect than we, and that they were obliged to supply as best they could the demand for such information. Accuracy of statement, apparently, was of minor importance. Certainly we cannot believe that the knowledge of Arabic was so very widely-spread throughout France of the Middle Ages, and yet in the *chansons de geste* this is referred to constantly with numberless instances of the French employing this speech.[31] A list has already been cited of many eminent men accredited with such knowledge: Charlemagne, Roland, Godefroy de Bouillon, William of Orange, Bueve de Hantone, etc., but these are only a small part of a long category, including many minor characters. Of the latter, with interpreters and other official linguists excluded, a few typical examples will suffice. In *Octavien*, Climens, a "vilain" of Paris, speaks Arabic so well as to be taken for one of the pagans:

> Sarrazinois sot bien parler
> Quar il l'ot apris outre mer.
> Maint Sarrazin a Monmartre a
> Mais Climens tot les inclina.
> Cil cuident que Sarrazins soit
> Por le langage qu'il parloit.
>
> (v. 4093.)

Berengiers, a relative of Ganelon, is able to converse with the pagan king Ganor in perfect Arabic:

> En droit sarrazinois Berengiers li respont.
> Berengiers li respont qui sarrazinois sot.
>
> (*Aye*, p. 51.)

[31] Is it so surprising, after all, that the French should have spoken Arabic? Piton in his *Les Lombards en France*, Paris, 1892, p. 4, states that in 812, Arabic coins, probably from Spain, were in active circulation in France. He raises the question: "Les Arabes se rendirent-ils personnellement dans les contrées si distantes de leur pays? Ces monnaies furent-elles, au contraire, rapportées par des commerçants indigènes qui s'en seraient servis pour leurs transactions? Toutes questions qui n'ont pas encore rencontré de solutions satisfaisantes."

as is the traitor Gaufrois when addressing Rouges-Lion:

> En lange Sarrasine dont sa bouche ert letree
> Salue le paien.
> (*Bauduin de Sebourc*, Chant V, p. 14.)

or Jerome in the presence of Macaire:

> Sarrasinois savoit moult bien parler
> (*Huon de Bordeaux*, v. 4060.)

or Floovant's squire Richier before two heathen kings:

> Sarrazenois parole, bem an fut ansoigniez.
> (*Floovant*, p. 73.)

or Girart upon meeting certain pagan ships on the high-seas:

> Girarz parole a elx senz latimier
> (*Folque*, v. 1333.)
> Les elx s'acoste, si parole en grezois.
> (*ib.*, v. 1363.)

Mention of Saracens speaking their own language to the French would likewise presuppose the ability of the latter to comprehend the foreign tongue. Such is the case with King Huidelon and Gui de Bourgogne:

> Ou que il voit Guion, parfont l'a encline
> En son sarasinois mult biau l'a salue.
> (*Gui de Bourgogne*, p. 84.)

and in *Anseïs de Carthage*, when the Saracen queen begs mercy of this hero: "Merchi li prie en lange sarasine" (v. 10812). Likewise Tiebauz li Esclers knows not a word of French, we are told, and addresses Renier li Tiois in his native tongue:

> La ou il voit Renier, envers lui s'umilie;
> ne sot giens de romans, en son latin li prie.
> (*Folque*, v. 11102.)

with the latter, his captor, who "bien sot parler grezois" (v. 11118), and who "parla en grezois a Tiebaut l'Arrabi" (v. 11180), able to comprehend the pagan speech. Here, where three references to the foreign language occur within eighty lines, it is evident, and typically so, that the poet wishes to exploit the linguistic element of his story to the utmost.

It is interesting to note that in no case is mention made of deliberate effort on the part of the French to learn the pagan tongue. If the method of its acquisition is referred to at all, it is seen rather to be due to the vicissitudes of fortune, which have obliged the Frenchman for one reason or another to reside among the heathen race. In the case of Latin, on the other hand, we have seen how this language was carefully cultivated from early youth and imposed on children as a part of their schooling

The Saracens

While signalling the ability of the French in speaking foreign tongues, the poets did not fail to recognize a corresponding accomplishment on the part of their pagan foes. Excluding, as before, the category of official linguists, we find that the Saracens are represented as by no means deficient in this respect. In *Bauduin de Sebourc*, we learn of a gifted Saracen who spoke no less than thirty tongues, being especially skilled in Latin:

> La ot un Sarrasins qui le barbe ot melle,
> N'avoit plus sage Turc dusque en Galilee,
> Ebrieu savoit parler, le raison de Judee,
> XXX langages sot par soutile pensee;
> Si savoit le latin miex que personne nee.
>
> (Chant XII, v. 262.)

and in the *Conquête de Jérusalem*, of certain Turks speaking Latin and French:

> Li Turc sorent parler et latin et romans
> Car apris lor estoit grant piecha de lonc tans.
>
> (v. 3389.)

Saracen women may likewise be accredited with linguistic knowledge. We are told that Mirabel, the Saracen maiden whom Aiol leads back to France, spoke as many as fourteen languages:

> Ele fu enparlee de XIIII latins
> Ele savoit parler et grigois et hermin,
> Flamenc et borgengon et tout le sarrasin,
> Poitevin et gascon se li vient a plaisir.
>
> (*Aiol*, v. 5421.)

and that Flordespine, another Saracen princess, although but fourteen years of age, spoke Latin and French:

> Ele avoit XIIII ans et demi seulemant
> Bien sot parler latin et entendre rommant.
>
> (*Gaufrey*, p. 55.)

Upon going to visit the French in the Saracen prison, she converses so long in the foreign language that the keeper grows impatient and asks if she is trying to learn French:

> "Dame," chen dist Hure, "est chen donc parlement?
> Foi que doi Apolin, trop ales sarmonnant.
> Aprendrez vous francheis? dites vostre talent."
>
> (*ib.*, p. 56.)

Eliénor, the sister of Rouges-Lions, is likewise represented as being in good command of French: "chelle qui sot Franchois et qui bel le parla" (*Bauduin de Sebourc*, Chant III, v. 43).[32]

It is not unusual that these Saracen princesses prove to be of French origin, who, having been stolen or lost in their youth, have been able through their beauty to contract royal marriages in foreign lands. This is the case with the Queen of Babylon, who astonishes Bauduin with her perfect mastery of the "langue de Paris." She explains that she had been a French duchess,

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[32] Examples of women of other nationalities speaking French have already been noted. To these may be added the Saxon queen Sebile, who was able to converse with her French lover Berart in his own language: "Seb. li escrie en langage Francor" (*Chanson des Saisnes*, v. 2852).

but, lost at sea, had wandered to the Sultan's kingdom and had finally married this monarch. Huon de Bordeaux in his travels in the Orient is surprised to encounter a maiden named Sebile who speaks French, until it transpires that she is the daughter of Count Guinemer of Saint-Omer.

Of the Saracen chiefs, we learn that King Tiebaut employs the French language in addressing King Louis: "Tiebaut fu mout adrois, si sot parler romans" (*Folque*, v. 12612). But when this same Tiebaut speaks with Renier li Tiois, we are informed that he knows not a word of "romans" and is obliged to resort to his own tongue, with which, we are told, Renier was familiar:

> Quant Reniers li Tiois oi Tiebaut parler,
> . . . . . .
> Bien sot parler grezois, si respont a l'Escler.
> (*ib.*, v. 11116.)

This apparent inconsistency on the part of the poet may be explained by the fact that Renier, of Danish origin, may not have spoken the same "roman" as King Louis of France, an idiom which we know the Saracen leader did speak; but it may be, and this is more probably the case, a simple lapse in the poet's memory. In *Aye d'Avignon*, the Saracen king Ganor is represented as speaking the French tongue:

> Et Ganor respondi, qui le rommans sot dire
> (p. 47.)

which he employs likewise in a later passage when bargaining for a boat to embark for France:

> En langage romans bargegnierent la barge.
> (p. 72.)

In *Maugis d'Aigremont*, the pagan Margalant begs mercy of his captors in this language:

> A Maugis escrie en langage françois.
> (v. 8319.)

which is also employed by the Emir:

> En romans commencha Perron a demander
> (*Conquête de Jérusalem*, v. 6436.)

and by the Saracen Gloriant:

> L'amiral Gloriant en apela Garin,
> Et a parle en haut en rommans sans latin.
> (*Gaufrey*, v. 264.)

The converted Poliban of Falise has a fluent knowledge of this tongue from having lived seven years in France:

> Polibans sot Fransois, car on le doctrina:
> Un renoies de Franche VII ans i demora,
> Qui li aprist Fransois, si que bel en parla.
> (*Bauduin de Sebourc*, Chant XI, v. 134.)

while Bauduin, in the same poem, uses his own language consistently when addressing the pagans (Chant XI, v. 418; Ch. XIV, v. 410; etc.).

To compare the relative ability of the French and the Saracens in speaking each other's language would be, as far as the *chansons de geste* are concerned, a futile undertaking. It would be foolish to rely too literally upon works of such capricious nature. Perhaps the bulk of this testimony would seem, though not overwhelmingly so, in favor of the French. We have evidence in other documents, moreover, of the frequency with which the French were instructed in pagan languages; Brunot in his *Histoire de la Langue française*[33] cites a number of interesting and convincing examples. But when this same authority informs us that among the Arabs, Turks, and Persians, only very few, with the exception of official interpreters, spoke the language of the French, we can only offer, whatever may be its historical value, the opposing testimony of the *chansons de geste*.

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[33] Tome I, p. 361.

German

Allusions to German appear rather frequently in the poems. This language is referred to generally under the terminology of "tiois," which is a transcription of the German "Theodiscus," employed in Germany until the XIth century to designate their speech. Since in Old French it may be used indiscriminately at times with the term "alemant," it cannot always be ascertained exactly what element or dialect of the idiom is thus implied. Remppis[34] believes to have discovered two stages in its development: an earlier period when it seems to signify Low German and not to refer to any speech south of Cologne,[35] and a later one when it becomes identified with the German language in general. This is the opinion also of Gaston Paris (*Orson*, p. 187), Foerster (*Cliges*, p. 183) and others. Remppis likewise concludes that "alemant" meant originally High German. At first no one term seems apparent to designate the German language as a whole, but later, towards the end of the Middle Ages, that of "alemant" crowds out all the others.

We have seen how the poets were careful at times to distinguish between "Tiois" and "Alemant" as applied to the race, and how at other times the two terms might be confused or used synonymously. The same is probably true of the language, although here there is less evidence to establish a case. The Saxons, whose country is referred to as "la terre as Tiois" (*Ch. d. Saisnes*, v. 1914), are represented as speaking "tiois," for it is in this poem that Baudoin, who has killed the Saxon Justamont in single combat and disguised himself in the dead man's armor, is able by changing his speech to "tiois" to mingle undiscovered with the enemy: "un pou sot de tyois, por itant l'a parle" (v. 3863). In the *Roman de Rou*, Henri the "Alemant" sends to William of Normandy a messenger named Cone and this man was able to speak "en tyeis e en normant" (v. 1628). In *Girart de Roussillon*, "tiois" is designated apparently as the

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[34] M. Remppis: *Die Vorstellungen von Deutschland im altfr. Heldenepos*, Beih. z. *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, 1911.

[35] In *Clomadès* (p. p. A. van Hasselt, Bruxelles, 1865), we learn that people went to Cologne to learn "tiois": "pour savoir tiois, Vint a Couloigne en Alemaigne" (v. 228).

language of the Bavarians, and "roman" as that of the "Allemands": "il y avait là des Bavarois et des Allemands, l'un parle tiois, l'autre roman" (trans. of P. Meyer, p. 60). The "tiois" language did not extend into Burgundy, it would seem, for when Auberi the Burgundian is in the lower Rhine district, he hears Flemish and English spoken and mistakes it for "tiois":

> Flamenc parolent et li auquant englois
> Dist Auberis: "que dient cil Tiois?"
> (*Aubri*, To., p. 26.)

This language is likewise represented as a part of the equipment of certain Saracen spies sent into France:

> Bien sevent tout et flamenc et franchois
> Normant, breton, hanvier et tiois.
> (*Anseïs*, v. 8050.)

Here it is to be noted that "hanvier" and "tiois" are differentiated in the poet's mind. In the expression "ne tiois ne romant" ("ne sevent dire ne tiois ne romant," *Prise de Cordres*, v. 1110; *Li Nerbonois*, v. 2793) there is probably little to be learned, since we have here scarcely more than a stock rime-filler.

There is little evidence to prove that "tiois" or the German language in general was particularly cultivated by the French. It was perhaps an unfamiliar tongue for in *Doon de Maience*, the senechal Herchembaut, who is plotting against the lives of Gui's young sons and wishes on one occasion to employ a language unintelligible to them, finds it convenient to speak in German in their presence:

> En tiois li a dit dont il savoit plante
> Si que li enfanchon ne l'ont pas enterve.
> (p. 8.)

When finally with the connivance of the boys' tutor, the plot is fully concocted, he is able to revert to the French tongue once more: (v. 287). Also, in *Aimeri de Narbonne*, Savaris, the leader

of a band of marauding Germans encountered by the French *cortège* in its journey through Italy, must change his tongue to "roman" in order to be understood by the French:

> Mes Savaris qui ot la barbe lee
> Parla romanz qui la terre ot usee.
> (v. 1636.)

The term "alemant" is less frequently employed, but appears in the lists of languages attributed to various people:

> Il n'est langages qu'il ne sacent parler
> Englois, Flamenc, Alemant autretel.
> (*Hervis de Metz*, v. 3877.)

and again:

> Mes je soi bien parler francheis et alemant
> Lombart et espaignol, poitevin et normant.
> (*Gaufrey*, v. 279.)

In one poem, "tiois" and "alemandeis" are confused with the pagan tongues but differentiated apparently from each other:

> Muat sa veie e changat sun latin
> Salamoneis parlat, tieis e barbarin
> Grezeis alemandeis aleis hermin
> E les langages que li bers out ainz apris.
> (*Chançun de Willelme: l'Archanz*, v. 2169.)

although in *Doon de Nanteuil* it is both the "Alemant" and the Saxons who are quoted as saying "Godeherre."[36]

Of the other German peoples appearing in the poems, such as the Lotharingians, the Bavarians, the Friesians, etc., the only references to language occur in the case of the Flemings and the Hainaults. We hear of the "hanvier" language in *Anseïs de Carthage*, where, as we have seen, it is differentiated from "tiois"

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[36] For citation of other German words in the *chansons de geste*, *cf.* Chap. IV.

(v. 8050), while the "flamenc" tongue is mentioned in the same passage, and again in *Hervis de Metz*, where it is distinguished from "alemant" (v. 3877). It is also one of the languages attributed to the Saracen maiden Mirablel (*Aiol*, v. 5418). In the poem of *Aubri*, we learn that the Flemings scorn the French because of the latters' inability to speak their language and that Giefrois, the French leader, is angered by this haughty attitude:

> Cil Flamenc nos tienent en viute
> Por lor langaie que ne savons parler.
>
> (Tobler ed., p. 28.)

In view of the fact that the French leaders were so frequently associated with the Germans in their campaigns against the pagans and that some of the heroes themselves, such as Charlemagne, Naime de Baivier, Renier le Tiois, etc., were of German extraction and must therefore have spoken some sort of German dialect,[37] it is to be wondered why their speech should have figured so inconspicuously in the *chansons de geste*. Surely if the poems had been composed at an epoch more nearly contemporaneous with that in which these chieftains lived, there would have been more frequent reference to the dialectal differences between the Germans and the French properly speaking. Since this Germanic element plays so slight a rôle, may we not allege such a phenomenon as additional evidence in favor of the late origin of the epics and confirm still further our belief that the poems do not antedate very considerably the form in which we have them?

Greek

This language is also referred to rather frequently, although the exact signification of "grezois" or "grigois" is not always clear. The Greeks, as we have already seen, were confused with the Saracens and might even be designated as the "Sarrasins grigois" (*Bastars de Buillon*, v. 5706). In like manner their

[37] Bédier tells us that: "Charlemagne était un Germain. Il parlait un dialecte germanique," and Paulin Paris that: "la langue maternelle de Garin était le Tyois ou Allemand."

language seems to have been identified with that of the Saracens, for we are told that the Saracen Desramé spoke in Greek and knew no other tongue: "Grejois parla, ne sot autre latin" (*Folque*, v. 5942) and that the interpreter Esclarbin employs "grigois" in addressing the pagans, who speak "sarasinois":

> Paiien s'escrient en lor sarasinois;
> Esclarbin lor respont en grigois.
> (*Anseïs de Carthage*, v. 6233.)

We have already seen that Charlemagne adopted this language in the presence of Aquilant: "En langage grejois que tous les latins set" (*Gui de Bourgogne*, v. 1371) and this is true likewise of Tierri when communicating with the Saracen Baudré: "Tierri parla grejois, qui bien le sot parler, le paien apela" (*Gaufrey*, p. 122); and of Reniers le Tiois in conversation with Tiebaut l'Arrabi: "Bien sot parler grezois, si respont a l'Escler" (*Folque*, vs. 1116 and 11179). It is to be noticed also how William of Orange reverts to this language upon the battlefield at Aliscans:

> Sa lange torne, ses latins est muez
> Grigois parole, bien en fu doctrinez,
> Sarrazinois resavoit il assez.
> (*Aleschans*, v. 1594.)[37]

Reference to this language appears in several stereotyped expressions. In *Anseïs de Carthage*, King Marsile is said to speak to his daughter "en grigois sans latin" (v. 6055), where reference to either Greek or Latin would seem superfluous. Also in *Folque* we read of Desramé, who "grejois parla, ne sot autre latin" (v. 5942), which we may compare with a similar expression employed in a later passage: "romans parla, ne sot autre langage" (v. 6038), and conclude from the fact that compatriots are speaking together in each instance and no occasion for reference to language would seem apparent that this is mere verbiage and little more than a convenient line-filler. In *Gui de Bourgogne*, the phrase "en arcage grezois" occurs several

times (vs. 430; 1697; 6055), but we have no reason to suppose that reference to the ancient language of the Greeks is intended. In no instance, as a matter of fact, is there clear evidence that the poets were referring to the classical Greek tongue as we now conceive it.[38]

From the fact that Greek was thus confounded with the Arabic languages, we might infer that both poet and public had no concise idea of this tongue and that it could not have been extensively cultivated in France at this epoch. At all events its association in this way with the pagans would lead us to suppose that it was not held in particularly high esteem, while in such an example as the following it would seem as if the speaking of this language were even the occasion for humor or derision:

> Li emperiere asez s'en rist
> E a ses genz en riant dist
> Si cum il parlout en gregeis.
> (*Roman de Rou*, vol. II, v. 3121.)

English

Mention of English occurs but rarely in the *chansons de geste*, in spite of the fact that this people is represented constantly as an ally of the French. Historically, to be sure, the wars which are depicted in the poems were neither against, nor in participation with, the English race. Among the few references which do occur are those of *Bueve de Hantone* (v. 331) and the *Roman de Rou* (vol. II, v. 1125), but these are of little significance, since here it is only a question of English people speaking their own language among themselves. There are no instances of the French speaking English, although this tongue is included in the list of languages deemed necessary for the equipment of pagan spies to be sent into France:

> Il n'est langages, qu'il ne sacent parler,
> Englois, Flamenc, Alemant autretel.
> (*Hervis de Metz*, v. 3897.)

[38] Other examples of this identification of Greek with the Saracen tongues may be found in *Folque*, vs. 5942; 8888; An. III, 3610.

It has already been noticed that English was said to be spoken by the Flemings and that Aubeii the Burgundian mistakes it for German. (*Aubri*, To., v. 26). It has also been seen how largely Wace was preoccupied with explaining or translating English words, but these isolated examples do not alter the fact that the rôle of English is virtually negligible in the epics. The rule seems rather to have been that the English cultivated the French language, as we learn from sources other than the *chansons de geste.*[39]

Italian

But little, also, may be learned of the Italian language through these poems. Mention is made of it on one occasion only, when it is referred to as "lombart," one of the languages which the Duke of Nevers claims to be able to speak:

> Mes je soi bien parler francheis et alemant
> Lombart et espaignol, poitevin et normant.
> (*Gaufrey*, p. 279.)

In the poem of *Aiol*, a sort of corrupted French is quoted as being spoken by Guinehot, the Lombard messenger sent from Macaire to King Louis. This is undoubtedly introduced for the purpose of comic effect, as can be seen in the final syllables of each line in the following passage:

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[39] Brunot in his *Histoire de la Langue française* (tome I, p. 364) points out that although the French had been brought in touch with the Greek at Constantinople, Cyprus, and elsewhere, it was but an ephemeral contact, and with but superficial influence upon the language. He cites an interesting passage from *Florimont*, in which Greek words are quoted:

> Il crient tuit: "Ma to theo
> Calo tuto vasileo."
> Ice welt dire en françois:
> Si maist Diex, bons est cis rois.

For a complete study of the numerous Greek words appearing in this poem, *cf.* J. Psichari: *Le Roman de Florimont* in *Études romans dédiées à Gaston Paris*, Paris, 1891, pp. 507-550, where the author demonstrates that such usage does not reflect a direct influence of the Orient, and that this poet was more or less ignorant of Greek.

A la foi, emperere, pecie dites et mal
Des gens de Lonbardie, qui a tel tort *blamas*
Il sont boin chevalier, quant vient as cos *donar*
. . . . . .
I'oi dire mon pere, si sai qu'est *veritas*,
Que vous estes mes freres, venes, si me *baissas*.
(v. 8847.)

The Italians, as we have already seen, are usually held up to ridicule of one sort or another, faring worse in this respect than any other race.[40] But in view of the frequency with which this race is represented as an ally of the French, it is surprising that its language should thus be passed over in almost complete silence.

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[40] Brunot informs us (*Hist. d. l. Langue Fr.*, t. I, p. 371) that: "Chez les Français, le parler des Anglais était devenu un objet de dérision, qu'on parodiait à l'envi, avec la certitude de faire rire," citing examples from *La Paix aux Anglois; Les Deux Anglois et l'Anel; Le Roman de Renart; Jehan et Blonde;* etc. There is nothing to correspond to this, however, in the *chansons de geste.* Matzke in his *Old French by Englishmen* (*Mod. Phil.*, 1905) points out how the author of *Jehan et Blonde* makes use of inaccuracies of all sorts in the mouths of the English who attempt to speak French, and states that in the XIIIth century as today, three types of brogue were humorous to the French: Provençal, German, and English. Ch. V. Langlois in his *Les Anglais du Moyen Age d'après les sources françaises* (*Rev. Hist.*, t. 52, p. 298) finds the English not too badly treated: "Les dictons d'origine populaire, où se condensent sous une forme brève les impressions de nos ancêtres sur les races diverses, des provinces françaises et de l'étranger, sont pour la plupart très désobligeants; ils sont tels pour les Allemands, les Italiens, les Bretons. Mais les Anglais au contraire ne sont point trop maltraités par la littérature parémiologique. Une plaisanterie classique à l'endroit des Anglais consistait jadis à parodier leur détestable manière de parler français, cet anglo-normand si rêche, si pénible pour les oreilles habituées aux dialectes de nos régions." For the cult of French in England in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, *cf.* Kathleen Lambley: *The French Language in England*, Manchester, 1920, pp. 3–26.

[41] *Cf.* J. Malsch: *Die Charakteristik der Völker im altfr. nat. Epos*, Diss., Heidelberg, 1912, pp. 87–92. Also H. Theodor: *Die komischen Elemente d. altfr. Chansons de geste*, Beih. z. *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XLVIII, pp. 57–61.

VI

The Ability to Read and Write

It is not to be taken for granted that the ability to speak foreign languages presupposed the power to read and write. The inability to do either is, in fact, one of the conspicuous defects in medieval education as portrayed by the poems. As Paulin Paris reminds us[1]: "dans les temps chevaleresques l'art d'écrire était un métier incompatible avec celui des armes. Un guerrier pouvait être fort lettré et ne pas savoir tracer les lettres de son nom. En effet le maniement de la lance et de l'épieu était un obstacle à celui de la plume et les missives écrites par des mains accoutumées au gantelet auraient été nécessairement illisibles." It is true that in the majority of cases, the various heroes, including the kings and the nobility in general, are represented as apparently unable to read or write, and obliged to employ clerks or secretaries of one sort or another to perform these services.

Instances of this nature are very common. They appear typically in such examples as the following:

> Li dus fist faire un brief un sage clerc Heudri.
>
> (*Chevalier du Cygne*, v. 8333.)

or when Garin calls upon his chaplain:

> Son capelain a appeler en prist,
> Fait faire lettres et cartes et escris.
>
> (*Garin le Loherain*, v. 103.)

or Duke Bueve upon his clerk:

> Il fet ses briez escrire a un clerc Salemon.
>
> (*Maugis d'Aigremont*, v. 5311.)

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[1] Note to *Garin le Loherain* p. p. Paulin Paris, Paris, 1833.

Since it was found necessary to conduct many negotiations in writing, a staff of scribes or letter-writers of some description were in constant attendance in every court. From the expression "maistre escrivant" which may be applied to them, we may suppose them to have enjoyed a certain prestige and importance. Charlemagne may employ a man in as high rank, in fact, as that of Archbishop, when in need of such service (*Aspremont*, v. 4149).

The king or nobles, as we have already seen, would dictate their letters in "roman" with the chaplain or clerk transcribing them into Latin:

> Devant Karlon s'estut le jor Turpin,
> Il a pris penne et enke et parcemin,
> Escrist le carte del romans en latin.
> (*Aspremont*, v. 4149.)

The person receiving a written communication is commonly represented as being unable to read it unassisted and obliged to resort in his turn to the service of a clerk:

> Il li baille le brief, li rois le fist froissier;
> Son capelain qui la estoit sos un lorier
> Le brief desploie et list, si a prist a noncier
> Al roi, cou que les letres sevent senefier.
> (*Naissance du Chevalier*, v. 1547.)

or again:

> Les letres tent le roi, qui fu vers lui tornes,
> L'emperere les prent, a un clerc fu livres,
> Le clers qui lut le brief ot a non Daniel.
> (*Chevalier du Cygne*, v. 6333.)

or again, it may be the Archbishop who performs this office:

Un arcesvesque de mout grant renommee
. . . . . .
Les letres list oiant cele asamblee;
Li rois meimes a bien l'uevre escoutee.
(*Li Nerbonois*, v. 5696.)[2]

The Saracens were likewise reputed as employing official letter-writers, and we are told of Marsile calling upon his "escriveins" who shall compose a letter "en le romans lengage" to be sent to Charlemagne (*Entrée d'Espagne*, v. 419). The pagan messengers upon their arrival at the French court greet the Emperor "en lengue Cristiane" and Charlemagne transmits the communication which they bear to his clerk Geboinz in order that it be read aloud. The Saracen king Gloriant employs a clerk likewise when a written message must be composed: "Ses bries a fet escrire un clerc Sarrazinois" (*Gaufrey*, p. 27).

But there is also evidence that the science of reading and writing was not confined exclusively to the clerks. However rarely cultivated, this ability is attributed to certain of the nobles and mention is made of various interesting personages accomplished in this respect. Hervis de Metz, having been put to the study of letters at an early age, had learned to write and compose letters:

Quant ot XII ans moult fu biax bacelers,
. . . . . .
Et de l'escole resot il a plente
Tant que bien sot escrire et embriever.
(*Hervis de Metz*, v. 260.)

Of Richard of Normandy we are informed: "une chartre sout lire e les parz deviser" (Rou, v. 1763). Garin le Loherain had also learned this art at school:

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[2] Examples of similar nature may be found in: *Garin le Loherain*, pp. 103; 108; 190; 244; *Mainet*, v. 156; *Elie*, v. 2527; *Folque*, vs. 343; 6103; 6689; 7229; An. I, 16; *Aiol*, vs. 10394; 10565; *Hervis*, v. 6523; *Renaud*, pp. 28; 161; *Aspremont*, vs. 278; 945; *Aubri*, p. 249; *Huon de Bordeaux*, v. 2575; etc.

De letres sot li Loherens Garins
Car en s'enfance fu a escole mis,
Tant que il sot et roman et latin.
Il vit les letres et reconnut l'escrit.
(*La Mort Garin*, p. 105.)

Ydain had likewise received this instruction in early youth and was able to read her psalter and "en romans et en latin escrire" (*Yde et Olive*, v. 6314). When William of Orange wishes to become a monk, he encounters the handicap of being unable to read. Questioned as to his ability to read the service, he replies jokingly: "Oil, sir abes, sans regarder en livre," at which the abbot laughs and says he shall be taught this necessary science:

Si m'ait Dex, nous t'aprendrons a lire.
. . . . . .
Quant seres prestres, si lires l'evangile,
Et si chanteres messe.
(*Moniage Guillaume* I, v. 128.)

Evidence in regard to Charlemagne is of rather conflicting nature. In Eginhard's Chronicle, we learn that he had attempted to write but with little success, having applied himself to this art too late in life.[3] In agreement with this evidence, it is the clerk who, in *Renaud de Montauban* and other poems, is called upon to write the Emperor's letters (*Ren. d. Montauban*, p. 161; *Anseïs*, v. 9330). He resorts also to a clerk or chaplain when reading is a necessity:

Et Karles la fet lire, quant la cire ot froee,
A un sien chapelain, qui li a recordee.
(*Aye d'Avignon*, p. 25.)

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[3] Temptabat et scribere tabulasque et codicellos ad hoc in lecto sub cervicalibus circumferre solebat, ut cum vacuum tempus esset manum litteris effigiendis adsuesceret; sed parum successit labor praeposterus ac sero inchoatus": *Eginhardi Vita Imperatoris*, Chap. XXV (L. Halphen, Paris, 1923).

But we are informed elsewhere of his ability to read, for he had been instructed in this knowledge in his childhood:

> Karles, nostre empereres, si a brisie la cire,
> Quant il fu jovenciaus, si ot apris a lire.
> (*Renaud de Montauban*, p. 161.)[4]

Girard de Roussillon was apparently unable to read, although his cousin Foucon could do so: "Là ils trouvèrent le messager qui les a salués et leur a donné la lettre de la reine, et Fouque en donna lecture à Girart" (*Gir. d. Roussillon*, trans. Meyer, p. 293). Aiol, as we have seen, had been taught letters and grammar at school, and was able to read and write: "Bien savoit Aiols lire et enbriever" (*Aiol*, v. 275). Anseïs is likewise able to read the letters which he receives:

> Anseis a les letres recheues,
> Le chire froise, quant il les a veues,
> Errant les list, bien les a entendues.
> (*Anseïs*, v. 608.)

Of the pagans we learn from the *Chanson de Roland* that King Marsile was a lettered man and could read:

> Marsilies sot assez d'arz et de livres:
> Escolers fut de la loi paienisme;
> Fraint le seel, getet en ad la cire,
> Guardet les lettres, veit la raisun escrite.
> (v. 484.)

and from *Bauduin de Sebourc* that the Saracen queen Ludiane composed her own letters:

> Ludiane le dame qui moult ot le corps bel,
> Prist enkre et parcemin; si fist maint brievetel
> Et metoit en escript.
> (Chant XIV, v. 281.)

[4] For an account of Charlemagne's education *cf.* J. B. Mullinger: *The Schools of Charles the Great*, London, 1877, p. 70.

It would be interesting to estimate in percentage the mention of ability to read and write as opposed to that of inability to do the same. Gaston Paris informs us that: "parmi les nobles et les bourgeois, l'instruction est extrêmement rare; savoir lire et savoir le latin, sont à peu près la même chose, et l'une et l'autre science sont réservées aux clercs."[5] While this statement may be historically correct, we find it to be but partly true as far as the *chansons de geste* are concerned. Not only are there examples of the nobles speaking Latin, but we are informed of their linguistic ability in general. This does not presuppose, to be sure, a corresponding ability to read and write, but may nevertheless be placed under the category of instruction. We have noted some ten instances of mention of the ability to read and write. Unfortunately it is impossible to make a similar computation for inability in this line. There are countless instances of clerks being employed to perform these services. But are we always to assume that their masters would have been unable to do so for themselves?[6] We know, moreover, of the schools established by Charlemagne, where not only men of the ecclesiastical world, but statesmen, courtiers, and well-born people in general, cultivated these arts.[7] "Savoir lire" and "savoir latin" would not seem necessarily one and the same thing, and were not, according to the *chansons de geste* at least, reserved exclusively for the clerks.

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[5] *Littérature française au moyen âge*, p. 30.

[6] In the poem of *Garin le Loherain*, mention is made on two occasions of this hero's ability to read (pp. 179; 263). When he receives a letter, however, he calls upon his chaplain to read it to him:

> Les letres baille, li Loherens les print
> Et les dona son chapelain Henri
> Cil fu cortois et bien et bel les lit.
> (p. 190.)

[7] *Cf.* Mullinger: *The Schools of Charles the Great*, p. 70ff.

VII

Linguistic Ability Used for Subterfuge

Knowledge of foreign languages proved a valuable asset at times when concealment of identity was desired. Nothing proved more effective for deceiving the enemy than the adoption of their speech[1] and this ruse was usually accompanied by an appropriate disguise to heighten the verisimilitude. The variety of the subterfuges attempted in this manner may be judged from a few representative examples.

We have already seen how Baudoin in the *Chanson des Saisnes*, after having slain the Saxon Justamont and disguised himself in the latter's armor, is able to pass as one of them because of his knowledge of German: "Un pou sot de tyois, por itant l'a parle" (v. 3864). His trick is so successful that he is able to rejoin Sebile, their queen, to whom he is paying court, the poet completing his story by adding: "Bien s'en est B. par angien delivre" (v. 3885).

On the battlefield of Aliscans, William of Orange kills in single combat the Saracen king Aerofle, and by taking possession of the pagan's horse and donning his armor and trappings, traverses the whole camp of the enemy undetected. By virtue of his disguise and the adoption of the Saracen tongue: "sa lengue torne, ses latins est muez, Grezois parole, qu'il en fu doctrinez; Sarrazinois resavoit-il assez, De toz langages ert bien enlatinez" (v. 1594), he passes for a certain length of time as the dead king, although finally his strange manner of mounting his steed and various neglected features of his make-up attract attention and lead to his discovery. He succeeds in effecting his escape, however, but because of his disguise, is delayed at the very gates of Orange, where he is unable to convince the French, including his wife Guibourg, of his real identity. It is only by routing single-handed some hundred of his closely-following pursuers

[1] H. S. Gehman in an article on *Subterfuge through the Means of Language* (*Classical Weekly* X, p. 35) presents this same subject from evidence drawn from Greek and Biblical sources.

that he carries conviction to his own forces and is permitted to enter the city.

On another occasion in the same poem, however, he is more successful in hoodwinking his foe. This is when he is questioned by a wandering band of Saracens, who, hearing their own language: "s'a sa langue tornee en Sarrasin" (v. 2055), and mistaking him for their king Aerofle, allow him to continue his way unmolested.

In another poem, Vivien, hard-pressed by the Saracens, has need of a messenger to demand succor of William at Orange. The mission is a difficult one, involving passage through the pagan army, but Gerard is finally chosen and this because of his ability to speak Arabic. Setting forth in pagan disguise, he declares himself, when arrested by the enemy's ambuscades, to be a senechal in the service of Desramé. His reply is not believed, however, for this same senechal is already reputed to be slain, and flatly accused of being a spy, Gerard is forced to retreat, closely pursued, to his own forces. Once again, disguised and speaking the Saracen language, he attempts to pass the pagan ranks. This time, when questioned, he claims to be a certain Saracen king Gastableis, travelling abroad under Desramé's command. Again the fraud is discovered and escape effected only through exceeding dexterity and the obscurity of the night. Upon reaching the French, he finds it difficult, like William on a former occasion, to establish his identity, bearing as he still does, the pagan disguise:

> Sarrasin sanble, bien lo voi a l'armer,
> As garnemens que il a andoses.
> Encui orons lou Sarrasin parleir.
>
> (*Chev. Vivien*, v. 1064.)

A similar situation occurs in *Gaufrey*. Garin de Montglane is wearied by the long siege of his city and seeks a messenger to demand aid of his son Hernaut. Again the ranks of the enemy must be traversed, which will involve a knowledge of the pagan tongue. The Peers offer, one by one, their services, including the Archbishop Turpin, but the Duke of Nevers objects to the

choice of a priest when so many knights are available. He deems himself more suitable, saying that he is able to speak: "francheis et alemant, lombart et espaignol, poitevin et normant" (p. 279). The task is finally entrusted, however, to a certain Saracen convert named Salemon, who, by employing his native tongue, will have no difficulty in deceiving the pagan guards: "Sarrasin a parle Salemon le guerrier Pour chen que il vouloit engignier le portier" (p. 286).

On another occasion in *Gaufrey*, strategy is attempted through the means of language. When the French messenger Tierri encounters the pagan Baudré, likewise a messenger and in possession of an important letter of the Saracens, and his destination is demanded, he deceives his unsuspecting questioner so cunningly by speaking in "grejois, qui bien le sot parler" (p. 123), that he extracts from him much useful information in regard to the enemy. When the pagan is of no further use to him, he strikes off his head and takes possession of his letter, which, we are told, was in Latin, and contained news of the Saracens' movements. In order to thwart these plans, the Frenchman dons the dead man's clothing, and exchanging his own steed for the dromedary upon which the pagan had been mounted, speeds away himself upon the other's mission. Among the forces of the Saracens, we are informed that once more he speaks in "grejois," and assuming always the rôle of the slain Baudré, explains how the French may be overcome and passage forced into France. He offers to disguise himself as a Frenchman, in which he will be aided by his knowledge of the French tongue, and will penetrate within their camp, and when once the French shall have gone to sleep, will open the secret gate and admit the Saracens. The pagan Amiral joyfully accepts this proposal and the false Baudré is permitted to depart. But in the meantime, the corpse of the dead messenger has been discovered as well as Tierri's horse, incautiously abandoned at the time of the substitution of the steeds, and the Saracens come to realize that they have been the victims of a dupe. Tierri is by this time, however, well beyond danger of recapture, and succeeds in regaining his own forces in safety.

In the *Prise d'Orange*, William, whose imagination and desire

have been fired by the accounts of the riches of Orange and the beauty of its queen Oriabel, vows neither to eat nor drink until he has seen this city and its mistress. He is reminded, however, that a hundred thousand knights themselves would be powerless against such a stronghold, and that ruse might be effective where force would fail. Deciding, therefore, upon the former plan, he chooses but two companions, Guielon and the accomplished Gilbert, who spoke: "turquois, et aufriquant, bedoin, et basclois" (v. 327). Blackening their bodies with "alun et d'arrement," and disguising themselves so fantastically that they "tres bien resemblent deable et aversier," they claim at their arrival before the enemy's gates to be interpreters in the service of the pagan king Tiebaut:

> Drugement somes d'Aufrique et d'outremer,
> Si somes home le roi Tiebaut l'Escler.
> (v. 422.)

Their ruse remains undetected, until a certain spy named Salatré, who had formerly known the Frenchmen at Nîmes, denounces the impostors and causes them to be cast into prison.

A familiar subterfuge consisted in passing one's self as a wandering merchant or pilgrim, assuming an appropriate disguise and speaking the enemy's language. This occurs in *Fierabras*, when Richard of Normandy wishes to cross with his men a bridge closely guarded by the Saracens. When their identity is demanded, Richard, who "torna sa langue, si parla Aragon" (v. 4768), asserts his troops to be Saracen merchants. But still refused the right of passage, he resorts to force, only to find himself intercepted and his men made prisoners.

A similar disguise is adopted in the *Entrée d'Espagne*. Roland has abandoned Charlemagne to engage secretly in an independent enterprise: the conquest of the city of Noble. He chooses Bernard as spy to reconnoiter the territory, for the latter had lived among the Saracens in his youth and spoke their language. Bernard enters the city disguised as an Arabian merchant, learns the movements of the enemy, and returns to report to Roland. The conversation between the two is con-

ducted, we are told, in Latin, although the reason for this is not apparent, unless it be that Roland wishes still to keep his plans secret from the troops. When convinced that this is the most favorable opportunity to attack the city, the French warrior sets forth with five thousand men, among whom are the Archbishop Turpin and Ogier. The latter is to prove useful because of his ability to speak the pagan tongue: "Oger, vos qi savez parler Saracinois" (v. 9563), for he shall proceed in advance with Turpin and a small detachment and when questioned by the Saracens, reply in "leur Espanois," pretending that they are merchants. At the gates of the city, however, they are unable to allay the suspicions of the pagan gatekeeper who says:

> N'estes pas merceant de drais ne de carpit,
> Armes aves vestues par desoz le samit.
> (v. 9695.)

so that Ogier seeks to argue no further, and advancing towards the guard, strikes off his head, and forces entrance within the walls.

Another incident in the same poem relates how Roland, disguised as a merchant and relying on his linguistic powers: "estoit apris de maint latin, car il savoit Greçois, Surien, et Ermin" (v. 11522), attempts to deceive certain Saracen brigands encountered in his passage, by pretending to be one of their race. But in a quarrel which ensues, he is obliged to resort to force and kills the robbers. Escaping then to Syria, where he disembarks under the pretense of wishing to pay homage to Mahomet, he assumes the pagan name of Bacharuf and adopts the Persian tongue when presented to the Sultan: "En le lengaje Persans a encomence" (v. 12276). But a spy who is present and who "de maint lengajes estoit apris," informs the Eastern monarch that the stranger is none other than Roland himself, although this story is not believed at court and Roland is permitted to reside among them. When later the French hero has rendered valuable service to the pagan king, he is able to revea his true identity and remain unmolested in the foreign country.

After some time has elapsed, he undertakes to return to Spain, accompanied by a converted Saracen named Aquilant, but the two are overtaken by a storm and shipwrecked along the Spanish coast. Aquilant deems it advisable, inasmuch as they can speak the language of this country:

> "Ja savons les langajes de Spagne le garnie,
> . . . . . .
> Le langaje Espanois nos fera grant ahie."
> (v. 14394.)

to go ashore and inquire their way until they shall find Charlemagne. These plans go well until a chance encounter with a marauding band of Saracens, of whom Roland, feigning to be a compatriot and employing the pagan tongue: "le uns parloit d'Espagne e l'autre Aragonais," asks the way to Pamplona. But a foreign accent in his speech arouses the suspicions of the brigands:

> "Par mon chief," dit l'autre, "qe je croi qe il ment:
> Il non parle la lange d'Espagne droitement."
> (v. 14545.)

and Roland, realizing that his ruse has failed, engages in the ever-recurring combat, and kills off the pagans.

In *Gui de Bourgogne*, Charlemagne conceives the idea of disguising himself as a pilgrim and spying on the Saracen city of Luiserne. Ogier, on the other hand, is to disguise himself as Charlemagne, and, at a given signal, attack the city. Unfortunately, at the very gates of Luiserne, a gust of wind disarranges the Emperor's headgear, and partly discloses his disguise, enabling one of the pagans, a certain interpreter named Boydan, who had lived in France, to discover Charlemagne's identity. But the latter, undaunted by this momentary check, and invoking divine assistance, succeeds notwithstanding in penetrating within the city. At the royal palace, he continues his ruse by addressing the Saracen king in the pagan tongue: "en langage grejois, que tous les latins set" (v. 1370). Here the secret of his identity

is again almost disclosed by the tenacious Boydan, who has followed from behind but who is silenced by a sweeping death-blow from the disguised monarch. In the confusion which ensues and from the cry which is raised at that moment that the supposed Charlemagne is without the city's gates, the Emperor is enabled to effect his escape, and walks calmly away, spying throughout the city, and finally rejoins his own troops.

Similar adventures of Charlemagne are to be found in *Doon de Maience*, where he penetrates into the Saxon court under the disguise of an old man, and in *Gaydon*, where he introduces himself within the city of Angers under the guise of a pilgrim. In both cases, as usual, the subterfuge gains but slight results, for the identity is discovered and the participant involved in still greater danger.

The Saracens are likewise recorded as resorting to disguise and the adoption of a foreign language in subterfuge. In *Folque de Candie*, the pagan spy Escotart, having darkened his skin and altered his features, claims in the presence of King Louis to be a pilgrim returning from Saint Jacques and able to speak in "romans, grezois, et latin" (v. 7064). The king is completely deceived by this false penitent, but the Chamberlain Maugis, as well as William of Orange, recognizes the impostor and replies to him mockingly in his own tongue: "riant li rent en grezois tex saluz" (v. 7107).

Again in *Anseïs de Carthage*, when King Marsile needs two spies to send into France, he chooses Fabur and Matifer, who are "bien emparles en romans et grigois" and "bien sevent tout et flamenc et franchois, normant, breton, hanvier, et tiois" (v. 8050). If questioned in the foreign court, they are to reply in the French tongue: "si respondes en lor langue en franchois." Disguising themselves as pilgrims, these two set out, therefore, for France, arriving finally before Charlemagne. Fabur, who, as we are told, "bien sot le latin," addresses the Emperor courteously and explains that they are "pelerin paumier." Charlemagne, completely deceived, allows the pagans to mingle with his people. Having learned as much as possible as to the strength and movements of the French army, the Saracens are about to escape in safety, when they are recognized by certain of their

countrymen in the employ of the French, and are led back as prisoners to the Emperor.

It is unnecessary to multiply these examples. They are many in number[2], but the principal types—and these are but few—are already apparent: concealment of identity through disguise in a slain enemy's apparel, or, as more frequently, that of a wandering merchant compatriot or pilgrim, with the adoption always of the appropriate foreign language.[3] That which surprises, in view of the care and detail involved in the relation of these

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[2] Other examples are to be found in *Anseïs*, v. 9653ff.; *Folque*, v. 1308ff.; *Aiol*, v. 9443ff.; *Brut*, v. 5040ff.; *Prise de Cordres*, v. 2330ff.; *Gui de Bourgogne*, v. 1696ff. H. Theodor in his *Die Komischen Elemente der altfr. Chansons de geste*, Beih. z. *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.* XLVIII, 1913, demonstrates how disguise and assumption of false names and callings are introduced for comic effect in these poems. It is naturally a means of ridiculing the heathen, he says, to represent them as believing to have a countryman before them, but in reality a Frenchman in disguise. He cites many examples of deceits and frauds of various descriptions, but does not include, curiously enough, those which we have just noted and in which the language element is a feature.

[3] Selecting almost at random certain of these stories, we are conscious of a similarity of phraseology between them which may be more than accidental:

(1) *Sa lengue torne*, (2) *ses latins est muez*
(4) *Sarrazinois resavoit il assez*,
De toz langages ert bien (5) *enlatinez*
(3) *D'armes paiens iert moult bien adoubez.*
(*Aliscans*, v. 1594.)

(1) *s'a langue tornee*
En Sarrasin, s'a (2) *sa raison muee.*
(*Aliscans*, v. 2055.)

(2) *Muat sa veie e changat sun latin.*
(*Archanz*, v. 2169.)

(1) *Torna sa langue*, si parla Aragon.
(*Fierabras*, v. 4768.)

(2) *Son langage a mue.*
(*Ch. d. Saisnes*, v. 3863.)

Sarrasin sanble, bien lo voi *a l'armer*
(3) *As garnemens que il a andoses*
Encui orons lou Sarrasin parleir.
(*Chev. Vivien*, v. 1064.)

(3) *Lor armes ostent es les vous adobes*
Des armeures a chiaus k'il ont tues

M. (4) *sot sarasinois ases.*
Il lor respont, bien fu (5) *enlatines.*
(*Anseïs*, v. 9822.)

In view of the fact that the stories resemble each other in so many other particulars, perhaps we may see in them a certain verbal relationship as well, and suppose them derived from some source familiar at this epoch and one which was common to them all.

incidents, is the frequency with which the subterfuge ends in disaster and accomplishes no practical results. It is the exception rather than the rule when the ruse is not finally detected and the participants obliged to resort to the force of arms or retreat to decide the issue. Perhaps we may attribute this to the sentiment current in this age of chivalry, which does not believe in trickery as much as in bravery and honest deeds of arms. The stories themselves are of no particular significance in our study, and, except for a few outstanding ones, such as William's retreat from the field of Aliscans, or Charlemagne's entrance within the city of Luiserne, soon cease through their repetition and similarity of conception to arrest our attention. Of greater interest is the poet's serious, almost conscientious, preoccupation, noticed here as elsewhere, to inform his public of the medium of speech involved in the contact of two nationalities. So frequently lapsing in precision and accuracy in other respects, the *chansons de geste* direct our attention very particularly to these linguistic details, and this, we are convinced, is not fortuitous, but of deliberate, sophisticated intention.

VIII

The Use of Interpreters

In spite of the testimony for the cultivation and diffusion of linguistic knowledge, many occasions are recorded when warring bodies or individuals were unable to comprehend the foreign tongue and therefore obliged to have recourse to some sort of linguistic intermediary. This service was performed by an official interpreter, or ambassador, or perhaps a man employed only temporarily in such an office because of his knowledge of the language involved.[1] The term "interpreter" is most frequently expressed in Old French by the word "latiniers" ("latimiers," "latimers," etc.). Just as "latin" came to mean at times any idiom or medium of speech, so a "latiniers" was one who spoke various languages.[2] Another, but less frequent term is that of "drugeman" ("drugueman," "trucheman," "durgeman," etc.).[3]

Interpreters, as we shall see, were in constant demand in these early wars. They were employed by both the French and the enemy, and were often, according to the poets, of remarkable linguistic accomplishment. The pagan interpreter Morant is

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[1] H. S. Gehman has treated this same question for another body of literature in his: *The Interpreters of Foreign Languages among the Ancients, a Study Based on Greek and Latin sources*, Diss., Philadelphia, 1914.

[2] The term "latimier" however, may sometimes be employed in other meanings. In the phrases "sans latimier" or "sans autre latimier," appearing usually as a rime-filler at the end of a verse, the sense seems to be "without delay" or "straightway without unnecessary words." This must be its signification in the following passage, for instance, where two pagans are speaking together:

> "Cosins," fait il a lui, "moult vos voi foloier."
> Cornumarans respont sans autre latimier.
> (*Godefroid de Bouillon*, v. 4852.)

Also *cf. ib.*, vs. 790; 3280; 3552; *Aliscans*, v. 8099; *Folque*, v. 1333. "Latimier" may also mean simply a skilful or experienced speaker with no reference to foreign languages, as in *Renaud de Montauban*, where only French people are in question: "Alars parla premiers qui bon latimier" (v. 401). This usage corresponds to that of the adjective "enlatiné," which, as we have already seen, may signify "of adroit speech."

[3] This word is traced in Murray's dictionary from the Old Arabic "targuman," in combination with the Greek "dragumanus." (New English Dictionary, Oxford 1897.)

generously accredited with a hundred languages: "un latimier qui set lenguages C. "(*Folque*, v. 861), while Malprin, the interpreter for the Emperor of Constantinople, is said to have knowledge of thirty: "Bien sot XXX langaiges, li rois l'avoit norri" (*Doon de la Roche*, v. 4230). To the pagan interpreter in the poem of *Horn* is attributed the command of "maint latin" (v. 2940), and in *Gaufrey* appears the French messenger-interpreter Tierri, who is able to express himself fluently in twelve: "Et sot XII lengagez courteisement parler" (v. 3758). Likewise Garnier: "Si fu de Paris nez, poi est langages dont il ne soit parez" (*Folque*, v. 7746).

These men figured officially in every court and army. From instances where they are referred to in the plural, it is evident that a number of them might be employed at a time. This is the case in *Esclarmonde*, where Huon is unable to understand what the Saracens wish to say to him and therefore summons various interpreters:

> ne set que il voelent parler
> Les latimiers ont tantost apeles,
> De maint langage ont Huon aparle.
> (v. 1484.)

or in *Bueve de Hantone*, where this hero:

> Tantost apele un de ses drugemans.
> (Fest. *Bueve*, Fass. II, v. 12801.)

or in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, where the Persians send two of these men to negotiate with the French: "A deus siens drogemans fist la raison chargier" (vol. II, p. 89). Also from the title of "maistre latimier" which may be applied to them (*Aspremont*, v. 3109) we conclude their employ to be a well-established institution.

Of the esteem in which they were held, we may judge from such testimony as: "C'est un mien latiniers que Jhesu beneie" (*Gui de Bourgogne*, v. 113); or: "Li rois ot latimier qui bons compainz estoit" (*Aye d'Avignon*, p. 72); or: "Latimiers fu cortos, nus

millor ne demant" (*Mainet*, p. 14); or the epithet "latimiers frere," occurring notably in *Folque de Candie* (vs. 862; 1025), or "un latinier, drus fu l'empereor, et si l'avoit moult chier" (*Chanson d'Antioche*, vol. I, p. 89).

It is interesting to learn that messengers in general were held in the highest regard. We have only to recall some of the eminent men employed at times in this capacity. In *Gaufrey*, as we have already seen, when it is question of a messenger to traverse the pagan camp and one able to speak the various languages to be encountered en route, the several peers who are present, offer one by one their services, including the Archbishop of Turpin, while in the *Roman de Rou*, the Archbishop Franque and other priests and monks are employed in the combined capacity of messenger and interpreter. The danger involved in the majority of these diplomatic missions made it sometimes difficult to find a willing officer. Cases of this category are interesting to collect and include the notable example of Ganelon in the *Chanson de Roland*. In *Aiol*, when the question is raised of a certain difficult errand through the enemy's country, the greater number of Charlemagne's peers remain silent, not daring to assume the risks and difficulties of this enterprise:

> Encor se teurent Alemant et Bavier
> Et Normant et Breton et Flamenc et Pohier,
> Mal de cel qui osast ne lever ne drechier,
> Tant doutent Sarrasins et cel roi Mibrien.
> (v. 4569)

But Aiol, of sturdier valor, hastens to the fore, the poet adding that none knew better than he to deliver a message: "Ne mieus sache parolle a preudome nonchier" (v. 4568).

Though these messengers are not always of noble birth, the prestige which they enjoyed may be deduced from the qualifications usually accompanying their mention. Most frequently it is that of "cortois" as in: "Ele prent maintenant un courtois mesagier" (*Doon de Maience*, 8691); or again: "De Cambrai ist li cortois messagier" (*Girbert de Metz*, v. 87); or of one who: "soit fiers et hardis et parler ansegnie et apris" (*Li Nerbonois*,

v. 5254); or again: "gentis hons et vaillanz et courageus et sage" (*Folque*, An. III, v. 4302).[4]

In the *Chanson de Roland* (v. 89), and elsewhere, the bearers of a message of peace are mounted upon mules, and carry, according to the convention of the day, branches of olives while performing their mission.[5] This was the symbol of their office, we are told, and enabled them to be recognized at a glance and from afar:

> Es Ulien le premier messagier,
> En sa main porte un rainsal d'olivier:
> Ce senefie que il est messagier.
> Sor le montagne le voit on ondoier.
> (*Aspremont*, v. 7729.)

This was also supposed to denote humility, as we learn in the *Chanson de Roland:*

> Branches d'olive en voz mains porterez
> Ço senefiet pais e humilitet.
> (v. 72.)

and in *Octavien:*

> un messagier,
> En sa main porte un olivier,
> Et senefie humilite.
> (v. 3273.)

Of apparent contradiction, however, is the richness of their apparel in many instances:

> Li messagier s'en tournent de la boine cite
> Richement sont vestu, cauche et acesme.
> (*Chanson d'Antioche*, vol. II, p. 172.)

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[4] For descriptions of messengers *cf.*: *Galiens*, p. 78; *Parise*, v. 2258; *Doon de la Roche*, vs. 4459; 4505; *Macaire*, vs. 1746; 1765; 2193; *Folque*, vs. 2284; 14061; *Ogier*, v. 4312; *Couronnement de Louis*, v. 2256; *Rou*, v. 7135; *Renaud de Montauban*, pp. 4; 5; 54; 59; *Girard de Roussillon*, p. 182; *Antioche* II, p. 178.

[5] *Cf.* G. Paris: *Romania* IX, p. 89.

Great companies of these messengers might be employed on a mission. In *Girart de Roussillon* Charlemagne sends a magnificent *cortège* of ambassadors to the Emperor of Constantinople: a hundred in all, fifty of whom are clerks, and fifty powerful knights. They are mounted upon mules and each one is provided for his personal attendants with a chamberlain, a cook, and a valet or "garçon." When they arrive in the vicinity of the city, a guide, who is a Longobard by birth,[6] is waiting to conduct them and at Constantinople, royal lodging is afforded them at the foreign court's expense (pp. 4–7). In the same poem, Drogon tells of his courteous reception by this same monarch on a former occasion, and how he was permitted to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, guided by the king's interpreters and furnished with safe-conduct. (p. 3.)[7]

Messengers were supposed to be treated honorably and provided with safe-conduct, no matter how unpleasant their message. In the *Chanson d'Antioche*, the Christian messengers adopt a haughty bearing when appearing before the Turkish Emir, and this arouses the ire of the pagans, who would have killed them instantly for their insolence, had they not been ambassadors:

> Pas ne le saluerent ne ne l'ont encline,
> Li Turc qui el tref furent en sont grain et ire,
> S'il ne fussent message sempres fussent tue.
>
> (vol. II, p. 172.)

When, in another poem, Marsile violates this convention of diplomatic immunity and hangs the French ambassadors, Ganelon says:

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[6] Meyer in his translation of the poem refers to this choice of an Italian. It is natural, he says, that an Italian from the South be chosen as guide into Constantinople: southern Italy, where there were numerous Greek colonies, was in constant relationship with Byzantium. In the *Poème de la Croisade* (Rom. VI, p. 493), there is another reference to a Longobard used as an interpreter-guide:

> Ils ont pris II. preudoms, Alissandre et Renier
> Et furent Longuebart et molt bon latimier.

[7] *Cf.* also the haughty company of forty messengers sent by Aimeri into Italy to demand in marriage the daughter of King Didier (*Aimeri de Narbonne*, v. 1475ff; also *Folque*, v. 14471).

Marsille a contre nous e contre lu fali:
Car aucun roi ne duc ne prince segnori
Ne doit onir mesaze par ch'il li eust gei
Nule couse d'outrance.
(*Prise de Pampelune*, v. 2713.)

In the *Roman de Brut*, the Britons, angry at the messengers from Rome, are about to do them injury, when King Arthur intervenes, saying no harm shall be done them: they are messengers and have the right to perform their mission unmolested:

N'i aront mal, messagier sont,
Signor ont, lor message font;
Dire pueent ce qu'il vauront.
(v. 10991.)

For this reason he bestows every honor upon them:

Molt les a tos fais honorer.
(v. 11325.)

Again, in the *Roman de Rou*, Wace refers to the honorable reception granted messengers from the enemy's forces:

Li bons reis Adestan oi les mesagiers,
Mult les a honurez, mult les a tenuz chiers.
(I, v. 293.)

In the same poem, Henri the German sends his messenger-ambassador to William of Normandy. This is the same Cone, whom we have already remarked as speaking "tyeis e en normant," and we are informed that "li dus le fist mult servir e honurer" (v. 1632). In another instance, William chooses a monk named Margot as his ambassador to Harold. The Saxon king is displeased, however, with the message which he brings and is on the point of wreaking vengeance on the messenger himself, when the latter hurriedly departs, foregoing the customary leave-taking. Later, William retaliates by teaching his adversary a lesson in etiquette; this is on the occasion of his

own reception of Harold's ambassador, a messenger who, as we are informed, "de France sout le langage." When Harold learns of the courteous treatment with which his man was honored, he regrets not having done as well by the unfortunate Margot: "mult se repenti qu'a Margot n'ont fait altresi" (*Rou* II, pp. 298–303).

All these instances, as well as the formalities of greeting and leave-taking,[8] the conventional and highly-formal phraseology of written communications,[9] all attest that political negotiations, far from being in a primitive and unsophisticated state of development, were exhibiting many of the conventions with which we are familiar today. Already may we find in these messengers, or interpreters, as they frequently are, the ancestors of our modern ambassadors with political immunity, and already in these early times may we trace the first symptoms of international law.

Official interpreters were useful, indispensable in fact, in a great variety of cases. A common situation is that occurring upon the battlefield or before the gates of a besieged city, when opposing forces, obliged to communicate with each other instantly, have need of a linguistic intermediary. Such is the case, for instance, when the Saracens, who have arrived before the walls of Narbonne, wish to present their terms of surrender to the French. Their interpreters, accordingly, are called upon to convey them and carry on the negotiations in general:

> Li latimier a cex de danz parlerent,
> Au Crestians la novele conterent
> Que l'amiranz et ses genz lor manderent.
> (*Li Nerbonois*, v. 4969.)

In the *Conquête de Jérusalem*, we have an example of each side sending its own interpreter: "un latimier a tost li Sodan apele" and "li rois Godefrois manda son latimier" (v. 6517), while the opposing leaders do not participate personally in the transaction. We are informed, however, that the conference was conducted

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[8] *Cf.* F. Schiller: *Das Grüssen im Altfranzösischen*, Diss., Halle 1890.
[9] *Cf. Prise de Pampelune*, p. 82; *Entrée d'Espagne*, p. 19.

in the Saracen language: "Tot en Sarrasinois parole au mescreant, et li paiens li conte del Sodant tot le mant" (v. 6588). In the same poem, the Duke Buiemons, seeking to convert to Christianity the pagan king, who speaks only "sarrasinois," finds it necessary to convey his wishes to the latter by means of an interpreter: "puis fu un latiniers isnelement mandes" (v. 2334). The same situation arises in *Folque de Candie*, when the king desires to bid the pagan messenger conduct him to his master, the Turkish prince Escaut, whom he will baptize. Unable to communicate directly with this foreign envoy, he is obliged to talk "par latimier" (v. 9715).[10] Girard likewise employs an interpreter when demanding of the Saracen Agolant that he renounce Mahomet (*Aspremont*, v. 10453).

Bueve de Hantone, on one occasion in need of provisions for his troops, sends his interpreter Tierri into the city of Montbrance to secure them:

> Tieri apele, qui molt par fu vaillans:
> "Esquiers estes cortois et avenans
> Et latiniers estes molt bien parans,
> Vous en ires a la chit de Monbranc."
> (Fest. *Bueves de Hantone*, Fass. I, v. 7121.)

When two bands of troops meeting upon the high-road are ignorant of each other's identity, an interpreter may be employed to make investigations. King Louis on one occasion, for instance,

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[10] In the *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* (p. p. G. Paris, Paris, 1897) French interpreters are represented as being employed by the Turks. Richard, Coeur de Lion, upon leaving Cyprus, encounters a foreign galley, whose destination he seeks to ascertain. These strangers, who in reality are Turks, but who feign to be English, are able to reply to his questions through "latimier francais," whom they carry on board (v. 2189). This may mean, on the other hand, "interpreters speaking French." Later in the same poem, the pagans make their offer of peace through an interpreter:

> Li Turc a un latimier firent
> Dire l'ofre que il offrirent.
> (v. 5199.)

and again:

> Quant Salehadins longement
> Ot parle ensi faitement
> A l'evesque par latimiers.
> (v. 12153.)

does not recognize his own compatriots until they have been questioned by an interpreter:

> De toz langajes mout bien enlatime
> "Sachiez" font il "de quel terre i sont ne."
> (*Li Nerbonois*, v.6587.)

An interpreter may also be necessary upon the high-seas, where many nationalities are to be encountered; this situation arises in *Folque de Candie*, when the pagan Amiral seeks a man speaking foreign languages to conduct his French prisoners across the water:

> Dist l'amiranz: "Cui les porron chargier
> Qui latin sache et par la mer nagier?"
> (v. 1169.)

The interpreter's rôle may likewise be that of guide through the enemy's country, where familiarity with the territory and knowledge of the languages to be encountered, are indispensable. In this manner is employed the Saracen interpreter Jossé, who having lived fourteen years in France, knew Beauvais, Paris, and the surrounding country:

> Cil ot en France quatorze ans converse,
> Latimiers fu, s'ot en maint liu este,
> Ben sot Beauvais et Paris la chite,
> E la contree d'environ le resne.
> (*Ogier le Danois*, v. 628.)

Such a man is employed also by Louis to conduct him through the pagan country:

> Rois Loeys repaire de Paris la chite;
> . . . . . .
> Godefrois les conduist, u pais ot este,
> Il sot mout bien les marces et le latin parler.
> (*Elie de Saint Gille*, v. 2534.)

Likewise by Roland and Engelier in the *Entrée d'Espagne:*

> Filides se mervoile et respondi: "Comant?
> Venistes vos ça outre por le conduit Rollant?"
> "Oil vor, sire, et por un drugemant."
> (v. 10264.)

When Cornumaran, the Caliph's son, decides to go to Europe to view Godefroy and the Christians at close range, he takes as companion and guide, an interpreter, without whom the journey would have been impossible:

> "Amis" fait il a lui, "avec moi en verres,
> Bien saves les langages, bien estes emparle."
> (*Godefroy de Bouillon*, v. 2480.)

The two men, disguised as pilgrims, traverse the greater portion of their way unrecognized, including Sicily, Italy, Holland, and France, until a chance meeting with a certain Abbé de Sainte-Troud, who had known Cornumeran in Jerusalem, discloses their identity. In *Li Nerbonois*, Guibert and his son, obliged to traverse the territory of the enemy on their way to France, are accompanied on the first stage of their journey by a converted Saracen named Clargis, who pretends, when questioned by the pagans, that these are Saracen prisoners with whom he is trusted and whom he is reconducting to their own forces. Later, when sufficiently advanced on their journey, the travelers are joined by another interpreter as Clargis' substitute:

> Un latimier lor a baillie Clargis
> Qui bien estoit de maint langaje apris.
> (v. 5496.)

At Viane, these adventurers encounter a group of Saracen spies, but the interpreter, who "quenut bien sarrazin," is able to allay

all suspicion by claiming that they are abroad under the safe-conduct of the Emir.[11]

Interpreters may also prove valuable in the capacity of spies. One of these is employed by Roland, for he speaks of his "spion druiment" (*Prise de Pampelune*, v. 5180). In the *Entrée d'Espagne*, we lean of the pagan spy who "Blacus ot non, de maint lengajes estoit celui apris" (v. 12613), and again, in the same poem, of a second spy who "molt soit de latin" (v. 4740), and in *Anseïs de Carthage*, of the two pagans employed to spy upon Charlemagne and his followers, and so qualified because of their ability to speak many languages:

> Pour chou k'il erent si bien enlatines,
> De tous langages apris et emparles
> Pour espier Karlon et son barnes.
> (v. 9170.)

When Hervis de Metz departs from the Saracen queen with whom he has been sojourning, two men are sent to follow after as spies, and these, we are told, spoke many languages:

> Il n'est langages qu'il ne sacent parler
> Englois, Flamens, Alemant autretel.[12]
> (*Hervis de Metz*, v. 3899.)

The interpreters were able to impart a variety of useful information. In *Aspremont*, when a certain pagan interpreter is taken prisoner, he is forced to betray to Ogier the movements of the Saracen forces:

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[11] Without an interpreter or guide of some sort serious difficulties might arise for strangers in foreign countries. This is the case with Horn and his companions, who have been shipwrecked along the coast of Brittany and are dismayed not to know among what people they have fallen. They have, moreover, no means of acquiring this knowledge as no interpreter is available:

> Kar ne sievent quel gent la soelent cunversier
> Si il sunt crestien u paen u escler
> Par quei sacent ki il sunt kar nen ont latimier.
> (v. 115.)

[12] In the *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* appears the professional spy Bertrand, who with his band of picked men, who "ne d'autre mestier ne serveient, fors d'espier l'ost sarazine" (v. 10274), would spy on the enemy under the disguise of Saracens and speaking the pagan language: "onques ne vi gent mielz senblasent Sarazins, ne qui mielz parlassent Sarazinois oiant la gent." (v. 10277.)

Orains presimes un paien latimier;
L'uevre as paiens nos vint tot acointier.
(v. 4830.)

Naburdagant, king of Babylon, employs his interpreter in the capacity of letter-writer or scribe:

Naburdagant apele errant son latimier
Ses leitrez li fet fere que mande l'aversier
O riche roi David qui tant fet a prisier.
(*Renaud de Montauban*, v. 407.)

Bertran does likewise in *Folque de Candie:*

Bien a Bertran sa reson enchargiee
Au latimier l'a bien enromanciee.
(v. 6128.)

The Saracen king Escorfant, wishing to speak with the French emperor, with whom he is unacquainted, has him pointed out to him by his interpreter:

Ou voit son latimier, fierement li escrie;
"Diva, li quels est rois de France la garnie?"
Boydans li respont: "Jel vos mostrerai, sire."
(*Gui de Bourgogne*, p. 17.)

The same situation occurs in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, when the Emperor of Constantinople learns the identity of Godefroy of Bouillon through his interpreter:

Son drugement apele: "Amis, a moi parles.
Qu'est icest qui parole, et tant et tant est bel formes?"
Li latiniers respont: "Or endroit le sares;
C'est li dus de Buillon."
(vol. I, p. 93.)

In the same poem, the wealthy Turk Dacian sends an interpreter laden with riches to demand back from the Christians his son, who had been taken prisoner:

Isnelement et tost a pris un drogement
Et un grand dromadaire cargie de dras d'argent.
(vol. II, p. 78.)

while in a later passage, the pagan Soliman sends his interpreter, who is, apparently, a French traitor: "Lors s'est uns Crestiens tout maintenant leves, Cil drogemans estoit et de Borgogne nes," to carry a message to other heathen troops in the city of Nicæa. To perform this errand, he shall disguise himself as a pilgrim and thus be enabled to pass unsuspected through the French troops:

Son drogemant apele et cil s'est atornes
A guise de paumier vestus et conrees.
(vol. I, p. 105.)

Also, in *Anseïs de Carthage*, it is the interpreter whom the Saracen queen Esclarbin sends to the French camp to seek her lover Raimon (v. 4931).

Converted Saracens proved convenient to act as interpreters or spies for the French. Charlemagne employs the convert Floriant of Nubia to reconnoiter certain parts of Spain with which he must be familiar before an invasion is possible:

Va moi, fai tost venir Floriant de Nubie,
C'est un mien latiniers que Jhesu beneie,
Que por Dieu a receu creance et batestire,
Cil me saura mult bien les noveles en dire.
(*Gui de Bourgogne*, p. 4.)

The same choice is made by Garin, for when he wishes to send a message to his wife in France, he chooses a certain Saracen who had received the faith:

Prist un message ou durement se fie,
Sarrazins fu, si ot sa loi guerpie,
Bien crut en Dieu, le fil sainte Marie.
(*Les Enfances Vivien*, v. 49.)

In *Folque de Candie*, Saligot, another converted Saracen, is sent by Bertrand as messenger to the daughter of the pagan Emir, and so chosen because he "conoist le langage" (v. 12184). The same envoy is utilized on other occasions in the same poem, sometimes because he can speak "en rommant sans latin" (v. 13979), and sometimes because he is a good guide (v. 13931). William of Orange likewise employs the converted king Baldus to act as messenger to the Saracens:

> Baldus le roi si lor i trametes,
> Pros est et sage et chevalier manbres,
> Si savra bien lou langage parler
> Et ce mesage dire.
>
> (*Prise de Cordres*, v. 2293.)

Interpreters and messengers may be improvised on the spur of the moment, men chosen temporarily in such capacity because of their knowledge of foreign tongues. When Vivien has need of such a messenger to pass through the enemy's territory to ask aid of William at Orange, Girard is chosen owing to his ability to speak the language of the Saracens:

> Et dist Girarz: "G'irai se vos volez;
> Ge sai parler sarrazinois assez,
> Ge puis parler as loges et as trez."
>
> (*Li Covenans Vivien*, v. 843.)

In the *Entrée d'Espagne*, likewise, it is Gautier who is sent to Pamplona because he will be able to parley with the pagan Maugeris in the foreign tongue:

> Li roi apelle Gautier qui fu d'Orlin,
> Qi bien savoit de Espaigne le latin:
> "En Pampelune m'en irais le chemin
> Dir Maugeris q'il garpisse Apolin."
>
> (v. 5842.)

These interpreters were permitted to act more or less upon their own initiative apparently, for when Gautier arrives before

the pagan city—where his knowledge of Saracen is again referred to: "bien fu apris de l'Espagnois lengage" (v. 6022)—he begins to reflect upon what he shall say. He adopts a haughty bearing in the pagan court and opens his negotiations with the pagan king in the following discourteous manner: "Rois, je ne vos salu" (v. 6056). In the conference which ensues, Gautier defies and boldly argues with this monarch, although always addressed by the latter as "latiner frer" and permitted to depart at the end without personal injury of any sort.

Another improvised interpreter appears in the *Naissance du Chevalier*, when Lothaire seeks a messenger to the Saracens. A certain clerk who is present and who acts as interpreter on occasions, volunteers in default of others, to perform this service:

> "S'il n'est autres qu'il die, faites moi messagier"
> Dist uns clers, qui ert la, qui se fait latimier.
> (v. 1089.)

Not only against the Saracens, but in any transaction between people of different languages, interpreters of various descriptions may be employed. We have already seen that in the *Roman de Rou*, the King of France and the Norman Rollo utilized the Archbishop Franque in their negotiations, and this because he "cunut maint langage" (*Rou* I,v. 1117). In this same poem, Henri l'Allemant sends Cone, a man who "sout en tyeis e en normant parler," as his intermediary to the Duke of Normandy (I, v. 1622). Harold likewise chooses a messenger speaking French to go to William:

> Donc a Heraut pris un mesage
> Qui de France sout le langage,
> Al duc Guillame l'enveia.
> (*ib.*, II v. 6833.)

Hastings the Dane is sent by the French with a message to the Normans because he was familiar with their "parleure" (*ib;* I, v. 477). The Norman Duke wonders who this can be who thus speaks their language:

"E tu ki es?" dist Rou, "ki ses nostre langage,
Es Daneis u Franceis, ki portes cest mesage?"
(v. 489.)

This same Wace relates in the *Roman de Brut* that the Saxon maiden Rowena is not understood by her suitor, the Briton king Vortigerne:

"Li rois demanda et enquist,
Qui le langage ne savoit
Que la mescine li disoit.
(v. 7113.)

and that an interpreter is called upon, this being the first of the Britons who knew the Saxon language:

si fu bons latimiers
Ci fu li premiers des Bretons
Qui sot le langage as Sessons.[13]
(v. 7117.)

In the appearance of the interpreters, therefore, is manifest, here as elsewhere, a marked attention to the medium of speech. The institution of such a body of men does not rely upon the *chansons de geste* for confirmation of its existence, although the epics are distinctly valuable in affording new information on the subject. Even a cursory reading of the chronicles and other historical documents of the period would convince us of the importance of their functions.[14] But it is the frequency of

[13] For other appearances of interpreters, *cf.*: *Antioche* II, pp. 69; 171; *Folque*, vs. 7001; 12188; *Entrée d'Espagne*, vs. 7423; 9692; 10266; *Gui de Nanteuil*, p. 83.

[14] Information on this subject is furnished, for instance, by Joinville, who informs us that the Sultan sent messengers to the French who spoke "sarrazinois" and "françois"; that these men were called "drugemens"; that they turned the Saracen language into French: "enromancoient le sarrazinois" (*Histoire de Saint Louis*, p. p. Michaud et Poujoulat, Paris 1857: *Nouvelle Coll. d. Mémoires rel. à l'hist. de France*, p. 242). On another occasion in the same work, Daudouyn d'Ibelin: "qui savoit bien le sarrazinois," is called upon by Louis to act as interpreter (p. 240); as is also Nichole d'Acre, who likewise "savoit le sarrazinois" (p. 247); and Yves le Breton and the two "freres preeschens" (p. 201). Another passage tells of a band of Armenians going in pilgrimage to Jerusalem and provided with "un latimier qui savoit leur langage et le nostre" (Ch. CX).

their appearance which is noteworthy, and since this linguistic element is so constantly in evidence, we are confirmed still further in our belief in the unusual interest displayed in such matters and the pronounced consciousness, everywhere apparent, of the disparity of speech existing in these early times.

In the *Récits d'un Ménestral de Reims* (p. p. Natalis de Wailly, Paris 1876), Queen Elienor sends greetings to Saladin "par un sien druguement" (p. 4), while the Saracens are represented as employing on occasions a certain "espie latimiere" (pp. 29; 103; 202).

In the *Lettre de Jean Pierre Sarrasins* (p. p. Michaud et Poujoulat, Paris 1876: *Nouv. Coll. d. Mém.*) we learn how the French king spoke to certain pagan messengers through his interpreter Frère Andrieu, who "disoit le françois au Roy" (p. 359).

Likewise in *Li Estoires de chiaus qui conquisent Coustantinoble* the French employ interpreters in dealing with the King of Nubia (p. 44); as do also Richard in the *Estoire de Eracles empereur* (*Recueil d. hist. d. Croisades*, Bk. 25, Ch. 22) when speaking to the Emperor of Constantinople, and the Saracens in negotiating with the French (Bk. 32, Ch. 4).

The Latin chronicle of Petrus Tubebodus relates how the French prisoner Rainaldus is interrogated by the Prince of Antioche by means of an interpreter (p. 51), and how on various occasions, Peter the Hermit is utilized in the same capacity (pp. 77; 150). Other instances of the same nature, and this list is by no means complete, are to be found in the *Gesta Francorum* (*Rec. d. hist. d. Croisades*, p. 563); and the *Croisade contre les Albigeois* (p. p. P. Meyer, Paris 1879, vs. 5937; 6859; 7877).

IX

Conclusions

It has been seen then that foreign languages play an important rôle in the *chansons de geste*. The French came in frequent contact with peoples of different speech, and this not only among the forces of the enemy but among their own ranks, which were composed of men of widely divergent languages and dialects. We have also seen that this contact with polyglot races gave rise at times to much confusion and difficulty through the inability to understand one another. Aside from mention of the French tongue itself, and its various dialects, the languages figuring most prominently are Latin and Arabic (under its numerous denominations), although English, German, Italian, and a host of others are referred to frequently enough, but about which we are given no very definite information. The poets are obviously interested in all linguistic ability, and because of the frequency with which mention is made of such accomplishment, we would suppose that the public from the XIIth century on believed in the linguistic attainments of the early heroes. This ability is signalized not only among the clerks, messengers, interpreters, and others whose special business it was to know the languages, but among the nobles and laymen as well, who from Charlemagne down are always pictured as proud of linguistic achievement. Latin appears fairly consistently as a part of the education of the well-born, who are also frequently accredited, rather to be sure from the exigencies of war and propinquity, than by any definite application on their own part,with a knowledge of Arabic in its various forms. German would likewise seem not deliberately cultivated, though spoken at times, while Greek was apparently not very familiar, as it was confused with the Saracen tongues. The pagans are also represented as being good linguists and in this respect no partiality is shown for the French. The actual introduction of foreign words in the texts is comparatively rare, although Latin quotations, which perhaps can hardly be regarded as foreign, and shorter German and English expressions

do appear, being employed apparently in an attempt to enhance the local color of the scene. Sometimes the signification of these terms is explained, and sometimes, notably in the case of Wace and with very evident relish, etymological information is offered. The ability to read and write existed, but much more rarely, apparently, than the knowledge of foreign tongues, but such science, however unprevalent, is not confined exclusively to the clerks. In spite of the diffusion of linguistic ability among individuals, many cases arise where recourse to interpreters becomes a necessity, and these men play an important rôle and are called upon to perform a variety of duties in every court and army, exhibiting at times some of the traits of modern ambassadors invested with political immunity. Though chiefly employed as linguistic intermediaries between opposing forces, they may be utilized as well in the capacity of spies and guides. Aside from professional interpreters, many others because of their linguistic knowledge may be called upon extemporaneously in similar offices. Knowledge of languages may also prove useful in strategies and subterfuges of various descriptions, where concealment of identity is sought through disguise and the adoption of an appropriate language.

Foreign languages, therefore, under the various forms in which they were cultivated and utilized, become a conspicuous feature in the *chansons de geste*, and represent a serious preoccupation on the part of the poets, who are unusually scrupulous to inform us of the medium of speech involved in communication between foreign-speaking races. If the poems could be considered as faithful representations of the history and society of their own or earlier epochs, we might suppose a constant contact with foreign tongues, as well as their extensive cultivation and utilization, to be outstanding elements in French civilization of the Middle Ages. What to our mind is undoubtedly true, for everywhere apparent and under many forms, is a pronounced interest on the part of the public in linguistic matters and differences in speech, for the poets here were evidently supplying a demand. No one single phase receives perhaps more marked attention, and probably in no later epoch, in a given genre of literature, can such an interest be traced to a corresponding degree.

X

TABLE FOR NAMES OF RACES AND LANGUAGES

Race	Language	Identification
Acopart (p. 27)		Ethiopians (*cf.* Meyer, *Rom.* VII, p. 440).
	aleis (p. 55)	Unidentified pagan tongue (*cf.* p. 55)
Alemans (p. 14) Alemant (p. 15)	alemandeis (p. 55) alemant (p. 44)	*Cf.* pp. 15-18
Alexandrin (p. 27)		Alexandrians
	aragon (p. 79)	Pagan tongue of Spain
	aufricaine (p. 42)	Indefinite pagan tongue
	aufricant (p. 44)	
Aminois (p. 23)		People of Amiens
Amoravi (p. 27)		The Almoravides (*cf.* Schober: *Die Geographie der altfr. Ch. de geste*, Marburg, 1902)
Angevin (p. 13) Anjou (cil d') (p. 22)		People of Anjou
Arabis (p. 16)		Arabians
Arguille (cil d') (p. 31)		*Cf.* p. 30 (Argoilles)
Artisien (p. 12) Artois (chiaus de) (p. 23)		People of Artois (Arras, capital city)
Auvergnat (p. 12) Alverne (vassal d') (p. 23)		People of Auvergne
Avalois (p. 21)		People of the Netherlands, or of the diocese of Cologne, (*cf.* Schober: *Die Geographie*)
Baivier (p. 15) Bavier (p. 17) Baviere (vassal de) (p. 17)		Bavarians
Barbarin (p. 27)	barbarin (p. 55)	Moroccan tribe (cf. *Ch. des Saisnes*, p. 65): the Berbers?
Bascle (p. 12) Basclois (p. 22)	basclois (p. 44)	Basques
Bedoin (p. 27)	bedoin (p. 44)	Nomadic Bedouin tribe (*cf.* E. Dreesbach: *Der Orient in der altfr. Kreuzzugs-litteratur*, Diss., Breslau, 1901, p. 40)
Berruier (p. 12)		People of Berri
Biauvoisins (p. 23)		People of Beauvais

TABLE FOR NAMES OF RACES AND LANGUAGES—*Continued*

Race	Language	Identification
Bordelois (p. 23)		People of Bordeaux,
Borgeignon (p. 21)	bergognan (p. 24)	Burgundians
Borgoins (p. 23)	borgengon (p. 26)	
Bourgoigne (p. 22)		
Burguigne (cil de) (p. 23)		
Boulenois (p. 23)		People of Boulogne
Brabençon (p. 13)		People of Brabant
Braibans (p. 23)		
Braibenchon (p. 21)		
Bretons (pp. 13; 15)	breton (p. 26)	People of Brittany
Bretuns (p. 23)	bretanz (p. 37)	
Berton (p. 12)		
Cambrisiens (p. 23)		People of Cambrai
Carcasois (p. 23)		People of Carcassonne
Catalan (p. 12)		Catalonians
Campegnois (p. 23)		People of Champagne
Champagne (gent de) (p. 22)		
Champenois (p. 12)		
Cheneleu (p. 27)		Cananaens (*cf.* Meyer, *Rom.* VII, p. 443)
Daneis (p. 100)		Danes
Danois (p. 27)		
Engleis (p. 31)	engleis (p. 38)	English
Engles (p. 23)	englois (p. 26)	
Englois (p. 21)		
Ermin (p. 42)	ermin (p. 42)	Armenians
Hermin (p. 27)	hermin (p. 55)	
	hermine (p. 42)	
Escler (p. 44)		Slavs
	espanois (p. 32)	Indeterminate pagan tongue
	espagnois (lengage) (p. 99)	
	espaignol (p. 44)	
	Espagne (lange de) (p. 43)	
	Espaigne (latin de) (p. 98)	
	Spagne (langajes de) (p. 81)	

TABLE FOR NAMES OF RACES AND LANGUAGES—*Continued*

Race	Language	Identification
Flamenc (p. 17).. Flamengs (p. 23) Flamens (p. 23).	flamenc (p. 26)..... flamens (p. 95).....	Flemings
Franc (p. 16).... Franceis (p. 38). Franchois (p. 21) France (baruns de) (p. 23)... France (cil de) (p. 13).....	francheis (p. 44)..... franchois (p. 26..... françois (p. 16..... francor (langage).... (p. 59)..... fransois (p. 61).....	French of the Ile-de-France
Frison (p. 15).... Frise (baruns de) (p. 23)	..... garasis (p. 55)..... garasie (p. 55).....	Friesians Unidentified pagan tongue, *cf.* p. 55)
Gascon (p. 23)... Gascoing (p. 22).	gascon (p. 26).....	Gascons
Grigois (p. 20)...	greçois (p. 42)..... greçoise (p. 42)..... gregeis (p. 67)..... grejois (p. 41)..... grezeis (p. 64)..... grezois (p. 57)..... grigois (p. 43).....	Greeks
Hanvier (p. 13).. Herupois (p. 16).. Hurepois (p. 22).	hanvier (p. 26).....	People of Hainault *Cf.* p. 12, note.
Hongre (p. 27)... Illande (gent d') (p. 27).....	....	Hungarians Irish (*cf.* Langlois, *Table des noms propres*)
	latin (p. 48)..... latins (p. 49).....	*Cf.* p. 46-53
Laonois (p. 23)... Lengres (chiaus de) (p. 23).....	....	People of Laon People of Langres
Leonais (p. 27)... Limosin (p. 12)... Lombart (p.)14.. Lombars (p. 23).	.... lombart (p. 44).....	Pagan tribe from Leon People of Limosin Cf. p. 14.
Longuebart (p. 89) Lorrain (p. 12)... Loherengs(p.23).	....	*Cf.* p. 14. Lotharingians
Lutis (p. 27)..... Manceaux (p. 22). Manssel (p. 13)..	....	*Cf.* p. 30. (Lens) People of Maine
Normans (p. 13).. Normant (p. 15.) Normanz (p. 35).	normant (p. 25).....	Normans

TABLE FOR NAMES OF RACES AND LANGUAGES—*Continued*

Race	Language	Identification
Norois (p. 20)....	norreis (p. 38).....	Norwegians
Ociant (cil d') (p. 31).....	.....	*Cf.* p. 29 (Occian)
Ostunois (p. 23)..	.....	People of Autun (Saône-et-Loire)
Pelerin (p. 27)...	.....	Unidentified Pagan People
Persan (p. 27)....	persans (lengaje) (p. 80)	Persians
Persant (p. 20)..	persant (p. 44).....	
	Perse (le langage de) (p. 42).....	
Pise (chiaus de) (p. 23).....	.....	People of Pisa
Picart (p. 12)....	.....	People of Picardy
Pohier (p. 12)...		
Pouhiers (p. 23).		
Pouhiez (p. 22)..		
Peitevins (p. 23)..	poitevin (p. 26).....	People of Poitou
Poitevin (p. 13).		
Provenchel (p. 22).....	.....	People of Provence
Provenchiaus (p. 23).....		
Puillois (p. 14)...	.....	Apulians
Romains (p. 14)..	.....	Romans
	romans (p. 47).....	*Cf.* p. 47-53
	romant (p. 63).....	
	romanz (p. 47).....	
	rommans (p. 60)....	
	rumanz (p. 38).....	
Rous (p. 27).....	.....	Russians (Swedes, *cf.* Jenkins, *La Chanson de Roland*, note, p. 225)
Saisnes (p. 15)...	Cf. (p. 62).....	Saxons (*cf.* p. 16-18)
Sasognois (chiaus de) (p. 23)...	Sessons (langage as) (p. 100).....	
Salendois (p. 23)	salamoneis (p. 55)...	Unidentified pagan tongue, *cf.* p. 55.
Sarrasin (p. 44)...	.....	
Sarrazin (p. 31).	saracinois (p. 44)....	People of Holland ?
	sarasinois (p. 57)...	Saracens
	sarrasinois (p. 41)...	
	sarrazenois (p. 57)..	
	sarrazin (p. 49).....	
	sarrasine (p. 57)....	
	sarrazine (lange) (p. 57).....	
	suriaine (p. 42).....	Syrian
	surien (p. 42).....	

TABLE FOR NAMES OF RACES AND LANGUAGES—*Continued*

Race	Language	Identification
Terasse (chiaus de) (p. 23)...	.....	People of Thiérache (Aisne) *Cf.* pp. 15-16; 62-65
Tiedeis (p. 15)...	tieis (p. 55).....	
Thiois (p. 16)...	tiois (p. 26).....	
Tiois (p. 16)....	tyeis (p. 25).....	
Tyois (p. 15)....	tyois (p. 62).....	
Torois (p. 23)....	.....	People of Tourraine
Tornois (p. 12)...		
Turc (p. 27).....	turquois (p. 44).....	Turks
Vermandois (p. 23).....	.....	*Cf.* p. 12, note
Walois (p. 23)....	.....	Welsh

XI

Texts of "Chansons de geste[1]" Used

Aiol—p. p. J. Normand et G. Raynaud, Paris 1877. (Soc. des anc. textes français.)

Aliscans—p. p. Guessard et Montaiglon, Paris 1870. (Anc. poètes de la France.)

Amis et Amiles—hrg. von K. Hofmann, Erlangen 1882.

La Chanson d'Antioche—p. p. Paulin Paris, 2 vol., Paris 1848. (Romans des douze pairs.)

Anseïs de Carthage—hrg. von J. Alton, Tübingen 1892. (Bibliothek des litt. Vereins in Stuttgart CXCIV.)

Aquin—p. p. F. Jouon des Longrais, Nantes 1880. (Soc. des bibliophiles bretons.)

Aspremont—p. p. L. Brandin, 2 vol., Paris 1919. (Classiques fr. du Moyen Age.)

Aubri—hrg. von A. Keller, Mannheim 1844 (Romvart.)

Aubri—hrg. von A. Tobler, Leipzig 1870.

Aye d'Avignon—p. p. E. Guessard et P. Meyer, Paris 1861. (Anc. poètes de la France.)

Aymeri de Narbonne—p. p. L. Demaison, 2 vol., Paris 1887 (Soc. des anc. textes français.)

Li Bastars de Buillon—p. p. A. Scheler, Bruxelles 1874.

Bauduin de Sebourc—p. p. Boca, 2 vol., Valenciennes 1841.

Berte aus grans pies par Adenes li Rois—p. p. A. Scheler, Bruxelles 1874.

Roman de Brut par Wace—p. p. Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen 1836.

Bueve de Commarchis par Adenès li Rois—p. p. A. Scheler, Bruxelles, 1874.

Boeve de Haumtone—hrg. von A. Stimming, Halle 1899. (Bibliotheca Normannica.)

Bueve de Hantone—Fassung I, II, III, hrg. von A. Stimming, Dresden 1911, 1912, 1914. (Ges. f. rom. Lit.)

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[1] Texts other than the *chansons de geste*, as well as the general bibliography, will be found in the foot-notes.

Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne et de Godefroid de Bouillon—p. p. C. Hippeau, 2 vol., Paris 1877.
Li Charrois de Nimes—cf. *Guillaume d'Orange.*
Chevalerie Ogier par Raimbert de Paris—p. p. Barrois, 2 vol., Paris 1842. (Romans des douze pairs de France.)
Chevalerie Vivien—p. p. A. L. Terracher, Paris 1909.
Clarisse—cf. *Esclarmonde.*
La Conquête de Jérusalem—p. p. C. Hippeau, Paris 1868.
Le Couronnement de Louis—p. p. E. Langlois, Paris 1888. (Soc. des anc. textes français.)
La Destruction de Rome—p. p. G. Gröber. (Romania II, 1873.)
Doon de la Roche—p. p. P. Meyer et G. Huet, Paris 1921. (Soc. des anc. textes français.)
Doon de Maience—p. p. A. Pey, Paris 1859. (Anc. poètes de la France.)
Doon de Nanteuil—p. p. P. Meyer. (Romania XIII, 1884.)
Elie de Saint Gille—p. p. G. Raynaud, Paris 1879. (Soc. des anc. textes français.)
Enfances Ogier par Adenès li Rois—p. p. A. Scheler, Bruxelles 1874.
Enfances Vivien—p. p. C. Wahlund et H. von Feilitzen, Upsala et Paris 1895.
Entrée d'Espagne—p. p. A. Thomas, 2 vol., Paris 1913. (Soc. des anc. textes français.)
Esclarmonde, Clarisse et Florent, Yde et Olive—hrg. von M. Schweigel, Marburg 1889. (Ausg. und Abh. aus dem Gebiete der rom. Phil. LXXXIII.)
Fierabras—p. p. A. Kroeber et G. Servois, Paris 1860. (Anc. poètes de la France.)
Floovant—p. p. F. Guessard et H. Michelant, Paris 1859 (Anc. poètes de la France.)
Folque de Candie par Herbert le duc de Dammartin—hrg. von O. Schultz-Gora, Dresden 1909, 1915. (Ges. f. rom. Lit.)
Galiens li Restores—hrg. von E. Stengel, Marburg 1890. (Ausg. und Abh. aus dem Gebiete der rom. Phil. LXXXXIV.)
Garin le Loherain—p. p. Paulin Paris, 2 vol., Paris 1833. (Romans des douze pairs de France.)
Gaufrey—p. p. F. Guessard et P. Chabaille, Paris 1859. (Anc. poètes de la France.)

Gaydon—p. p. F. Guessard et S. Luce, Paris 1862. (Anc. poètes de la France.)

Girard de Rossillon—p. p. Mignard, Paris 1858.

Girard de Roussillon—traduite par P. Meyer, Paris 1884.

Girard de Viane par Bertran de Bar-sur-Aube—p. p. P. Tarbé, Reims 1850.

Godefroid de Bouillon—cf. *Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne.*

Gormond et Isembart—p. p. A. Bayot, Paris 1914. (Classiques fr. du Moyen Age.)

Gui de Bourgogne—p. p. F. Guessard et H. Michelant, Paris 1859. (Anc. poètes de la France.)

Gui de Nanteuil—p. p. P. Meyer, Paris 1861. (Anc. poètes de la France.)

Guillaume d'Orange (*Couronnement Looys, Charrois de Nymes, Prise d'Orange, Covenans Vivien, Bataille d'Aleschans*)—p. p. W. J. A. Jonckbloet, La Haye, 2 vol., 1854.

Chançun de Guillelme—hrg. von H. Suchier, Halle 1911. (Bibliotheca Normannica.)

Chançun de Willelme (*Archanz*)—[ed. Baist,] Freiburg i. Br. 1904.

Hervis de Metz—hrg. von E. Stengel, Dresden 1903. (Ges. f. rom. Lit.)

Horn—hrg. von R. Brede und E. Stengel, Marburg 1883. (Ausg. und Abh. aus dem Gebiete der rom. Phil. VIII.)

Hugues Capet—p. p. le Marquis de la Grange, Paris 1864. (Anc. poètes de la France.)

Huon de Bordeaux—p. p. F. Guessard et C. Grandmaison, Paris 1860. (Anc. poètes de la France.)

Jourdains de Blaives—hrg. von K. Hofmann, Erlangen 1882.

Macaire—p. p. F. Guessard, Paris 1866. (Anc. poètes de la France.)

Mainet—p. p. G. Paris. (Romania IV, 1875.)

Maugis d'Aigremont—p. p. F. Castets. (Revue des langues romanes XXXVI, 1892.)

Moniage Guillaume—p. p. W. Cloetta, Paris 1906 et 1911. (Soc. des anc. textes français.)

Mort Aymeri—p. p. J. Couraye du Parc, Paris 1884. (Soc. des anc. textes français.)

Mort de Garin le Loherain—p. p. Édelstand du Méril, Paris 1846. (Romans des douze pairs de la France.)
Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne—pub. by H. A. Todd, Baltimore 1889. (Pub. Mod. Lan. Asso.)
Les Narbonnais—p. p. H. Suchier, 2 vol., Paris 1898. (Soc. des anc. textes Français.)
Octavien—hrg. von K. Vollmoeller, Heilbronn 1883. (Altfr. Bibliothek.)
Orson de Beauvais—p. p. G. Paris, Paris 1899. (Soc. des anc. textes français.)
Otinel—p. p. F. Guessard et H. Michelant, Paris 1859. (Anc. poètes de la France.)
Parise la Duchesse—p. p. F. Guessard et L. Larchey, Paris 1860. (Anc. poètes de la France.)
Pèlerinage de Charlemagne—hrg. von E. Koschwitz, Leipzig 1895.
Prise de Cordres et de Sebille—p. p. Densusianu, Paris 1896. (Soc. des anc. textes français.)
Prise d'Orange—cf. *Guillaume d'Orange.*
Prise de Pampelune—hrg. von A. Mussafia, Wien 1864.
Raoul de Cambrai—p. p. P. Meyer et A. Longnon, Paris 1882. (Soc. des anc. textes français.)
Renaut de Montauban—hrg. von H. Michelant, Stuttgart 1862. (Bib. des litt. Vereins.)
Chanson de Roland—p. p. L. Gautier, Tours 1887.
Chanson de Roland—hrg. von E. Stengel, Leipzig 1909.
Chanson de Roland—ed. by T. A. Jenkins, Boston, 1924.
Roman de Rou par Wace—hrg. von H. Andresen, 2 vol., Heilbronn 1877.
Chanson des Saisnes par Jean Bodel—p. p. F. Michel, 2 vol., Paris 1839. (Romans des douze pairs de la France.)
Chanson des Saxons—hrg. von F. Menzel und E. Stengel, Marburg 1906 und 1909. (Ausg. und Abh. aus dem Gebiete der rom. Phil. XCIX und C.)
Yde et Olive—cf. *Esclarmonde.*

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